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## WAS BURNS AN AGNOSTIC AND PESSIMIST?

Mr Gauld should bear in mind that sarcasm does not constitute logical argument, and that greater poets than Burns have been agnostics; for instance, Goethe, Byron, and Shelley. Burns himself virtually owned to be a sceptic or agnostic, for in a letter to Cunningham, dated February 14th, 1790, he says:—"All my fears and cares are of this world; if there is another, an honest man has nothing to fear from it. . . . I fear every fair unprejudiced inquirer must in some degree be a sceptic. One thing frightens me much; that we are to live for ever seems too good news to be true. That we are to enter into a new scene of existence, where, exempt from want and pain, we shall enjoy ourselves and our friends without satiety or separation—how much should I be indebted to any one who could fully assure me that this was certain."

There are several phases of pessimism, and a man may be a pessimist without asserting that life is not worth living and that death is the highest good. Burns came very near asserting this when he says:—

"Death, the poor man's dearest friend,  
The kindest and the best."

The last paragraph in Mr Gauld's letter is misleading, inasmuch that it is not Mr Grant (as Mr Gauld asserts) that weaves the web of pessimistic philosophy out of the monologue in "Hamlet," but one of the greatest philosopher's the world has ever seen, and Mr Gauld is only making himself ridiculous in the eyes of the intelligent reader by the stupid and arrogant manner in which he expresses himself.

E. W.

Mr Gauld's letter is, properly speaking, not a reply to my article on the above subject at all, and had it not been that he brings charges against me, which have absolutely no foundation in fact, I should certainly never think of taking any notice of his feeble attempt at sarcasm.

Mr Gauld says that I answer the question, Was Burns an agnostic and pessimist? in the affirmative. Now, the fact of the matter is I never answered any question at all. On the contrary, I simply asked a few questions, and Mr Gauld, instead of answering them in a rational and logical manner, has merely given us an exhibition of his utter inability to grapple with the points at issue. I asked if we were to infer from Burns' expression, "O! Thou Unknown Almighty Cause," that he regarded the First Cause not as a personal being, but as some utterly incomprehensible "Conditioned relative of the non-Conditioned Absolute."

What answer has Mr Gauld given to this question? Practically none whatever. He, however, admits that "O! Thou Unknown Almighty Cause" is an "agnostic phrase." Now, if Burns made use of that phrase in one of the most earnest moments of his life what is the logical inference? or why, in addressing the First Cause, did he make use of an "agnostic phrase" at all?

Mr Gauld is evidently shocked at the idea of the word "agnostic" being used in connection with the author of the "Cotter's Saturday Night." He even goes the length of using a point of exclamation to give, as it were, emphasis to the sense of horror which he feels at such an idea. How beautiful! But why shocked? Allow me to point out to Mr Gauld that some of the greatest men of whom we have any record were agnostics, and at the present day the greatest scientists, philosophers, and leaders of thought in Europe and America are agnostics; and why not Burns? Any person with the slightest pretension to literary knowledge cannot deny that Byron was one of the greatest poets the world has ever seen, and he was an agnostic, and pessimist to boot. His poetry is, in fact, so largely permeated with pessimistic ideas that pessimism was at one time commonly called Byronism in England. Shelley, another poet of the very highest order, was not only an agnostic, but an avowed atheist. Goethe was also an agnostic, and the writings of Shakespeare himself are tinged with agnosticism and pessimism.



But let us hear what Burns himself has to say on the subject. In a letter to Cunningham, dated February 14, 1790, he says:—"If there be any truth in the orthodox faith of these churches, I am damned past redemption, and, what is worse, damned to all eternity. . . . All my fears and cares are of this world; if there is another, an honest man has nothing to fear from it. . . . But I fear every fair, unprejudiced inquirer must in some degree be a sceptic. . . . One thing frightens me much: that we are to live for ever seems *too good news to be true*. That we are to enter into a new scene of existence, where, exempt from want and pain, we shall enjoy ourselves and our friends without satiety or separation—how much should I be indebted to any one who could fully assure me that this was certain!"

Now, I ask any unprejudiced reader, what is the logical inference from these statements? Mr Gauld's explanation of the opening verse of "Holy Willie's Prayer" is incorrect. Burns' object, in the verse in question, is to expose the utter absurdity of the Christian conception of a God, and he consequently addresses *that conception* with irony and mockery. Mr Gauld begins his letter by asserting that he can readily dispose of the idea that Burns was a pessimist, and in the latter part of it he says that Burns was sometimes a pessimist. He thus contradicts himself; but what else could be expected? But how, in the name of common-sense, can a man be a pessimist at one time and not at another? Perhaps Mr Gauld will enlighten us.

I may state for Mr Gauld's information that pessimism is as old as history. The Bible is full of pessimistic ideas, and some writers of eminence have gone the length of saying that even the Founder of Christianity was Himself a thorough pessimist in so far as this world is concerned. There are several phases of pessimism, and a man may be a pessimist without going the length of asserting that life is not worth living, and that death is the highest good. But allow me to point out that Burns came dangerously near asserting this when he makes use of the expression—

"Death, the poor man's dearest friend,  
The kindest and the best."

A. MACD. GRANT, Newton, Winchburgh.

## HE RISING

### OBITUARY

#### MISS HENRIETTA TAYLER

Miss Henrietta Tayler, who died on Tuesday at her home in London at the age of 82, devoted much of her long life to research into the Jacobite partisans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

She approached her subject in a thoroughly scholarly manner and had the help of her brother, the late Alistair Tayler, until his death in 1939, in examining the great mass of original documents. The results of these painstaking researches issued in a number of books and contributions to magazines which, if they do not enhance the glamour of the attempts by James II's male descendants to regain their hereditary titles, throw much light on the lives and temperaments of their supporters.

The account of the rising of 1715, published in 1936, may be taken as the definitive history of that affair, and the volumes which succeeded it, *Jacobite Exile, 1745 and After*, and *Jacobite Epilogue*, throw much new light upon the circumstances of those who followed the Stewarts overseas, already known to many in outline. In *The Seven Sons of the Provost* (1949) Miss Tayler gives an account of a Scottish laird's family in the eighteenth century, and in her biography of Prince Charlie's daughter, Charlotte, published little more than 12 months ago, she discloses the fact that one of Charlotte's illegitimate children survived until 1854, and so "the end of an old song" had a more lingering cadence than had hitherto been supposed.



## OLD MAN ELOQUENT.

This phrase, which one meets with in current literature almost daily, has been erroneously attributed to many writers and statesmen, and among the hundreds who use it, one encounters few who can give a rational account of it, or knows to whom it refers. I have seen it ascribed among others to Sir W. Har and Mr Chamberlain.

The words "old man eloquent" occur in the fifth of Milton's sonnets, which is addressed to Lady Margaret Ley, and refers to Isocrates, the celebrated Greek rhetor. He was born in 436 B.C., his father being a wealthy musical instrument maker of Athens. Owing to physical weakness and constitutional timidity his oratorical powers were never exercised in the public assembly of citizens. He founded a school of oratory in Athens, which attracted a great number of wealthy pupils, who afterwards became distinguished, and who paid as high as 1000 drachmas each for instruction in oratory. By this means Isocrates acquired an immense fortune. He was on terms of friendship and kept up a regular correspondence with Philip of Macedon, with whom he interceded on more than one occasion for the Athenians, and was the instrument in obtaining for them many years of peace. But Philip's ambition was not to be suppressed, and he ultimately made war on Athens, and completely routed its army at Chæronea and overthrew the Republic.

Isocrates, on hearing of the defeat and disgrace of his country, became depressed in spirits, refused to take food, and in four days died, in the ninety-ninth year of his age, 338 B.C., two years before the accession of Alexander.

This tradition, recorded by Pausanias and Lucian, was generally accepted by scholars in Milton's time, but it has been shown by Blass to have been false. Thirty-one of Isocrates' orations have been preserved, nineteen of which are in the Codex Urbinus, the most perfect of Greek MSS. A brazen statue was erected to him after his death. The following is Milton's sonnet:—

Daughter to that good Earl, once President  
Of England's Council and her Treasury,  
Who lived in both, unstained with gold or fee,  
And left them both, more in himself content,  
Till said the breaking of that Parliament,  
Broke him, as that dishonest victory  
At Chæronea, fatal to liberty,  
Killed with report the old man eloquent.  
Though later born than to have known the day  
Wherein your father flourished, yet by you,  
Madam, methinks I see him living yet:  
So well your words his noble virtues praise,  
That all both judge you to relate them true,  
And to possess them, honour'd Margaret.

J. S. T. G., Thurso.

London, Manitoba.

## TESTAMENT OF MR WALTER KENNEDY.

By DUNBAR, A.D. 1488.

I find the following in "Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry." A considerable number of Dunbar poems have, I believe, just been published in a volume by the Abbotsford Club, which contains much that is excellent of our ancient poets. Dunbar was a brilliant and versatile poet, and there is a great likeness between him and Robert Burns. Their friendship is separately connects them: both seem to have been tempted by poverty. Dunbar complains—

"My painful purse scripkillis me."  
Priest and courtier, he has a brave elasticity of spirit; yet Burns excels him in that his revenue seemed only to increase his love and sympathy for his intimate creatures, while in the case of Dunbar the interest of his soul. "The Flytin between Dunbar and Kennedy" is interesting as giving undoubted evidence of the prevalence of the old Gaelic tongue in the 15th century in Ayrshire and Galloway:—

"In die mee sepulturæ,  
I will have nane but oor ain gang;  
Et duos rusticos de rure,  
Berand ane barrell on a sang,  
Drinking and playand cop-out; even  
Sicut egomet solebam;  
Singand and greetand with aie stern,  
Et tum meum cum fletu michebam.

I will na preistis for me sing,  
Dies illa, dies irae;  
Nor yet na bellis for me ring,  
Sicut semper solet fieri.  
But a bagpipe to play a spring,  
Et unum ale-wispe ante me;  
Instead of torches for to bring  
Quatuor lagenas cervisie;  
Within the graif to sett, fit thing  
In modum crucis jaxta me,  
To fle the feyndis, than hardly sing  
De terra tu plasmasti me.

Nunc condo testamentum meum,  
I leif my soul for evermair  
Per omnipotentium Deum.  
Into my lordis wyne cellar,  
Semper ibi ad remanendum  
Quhill domis-day; without dissaver  
Bonum vinum ad bibendum  
With sweit Cuthbert that lust me neir.

Ane luterel bung ay at my bussum.  
Of wardly gude I bad na mair;  
Corpus meum ebriosum;  
I leif onto the town of Ain  
In ane draff midding evir and ay  
Ut ibi sepeliri queam,  
Quhair drink and draff may ilka day  
Be cassyn super faciem meam.

I leif my heart that never was sicker  
Sed semper variabile,  
That evermair wald flow and flicker  
Consorti-mee Jacobo Lee;  
Thoch I wald bind it with a wicker;  
Verum Deum tenui;  
Bot and I hecht to tume a bicker,  
Hoc pactum semper tenui."

J. A., Liverpool.





*From an engraving in the authors' possession.*

JOHN, DUKE OF ARGYLL AND GREENWICH.





Plaque placed in the Cathedral at  
Dork (formerly All Saints' Church) 1945

This tablet is erected to commemorate the  
reading of prayers in this Church by the  
Chaplain of the Army of Prince Charles  
between the 4th and 6th of December,  
1745, when, in the words of Sir  
George Gunga, 'many of our Officers  
and people took the Sacrament'. The  
Chaplain prayed for King James,  
Charles, Prince of Wales, Regent of  
England, and the Duke of York.



From an engraving in the British Museum.

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD STUART.



1715:  
THE STORY OF THE RISING

*by*  
ALISTAIR TAYLER  
*and*  
HENRIETTA TAYLER

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H. 182

ROYAL STEWART AND ROYAL SOBIESKI  
FAMILIES.

In reply to "An Old Edinburgher:" after the successful Jacobite rising in 1745, battle of Culloden, &c., Prince James Francis Edward Stuart (the "Old Chevalier," son of King James II. & Anne) and his second wife, Maria D Este, came to Scotland by marrying, in 1749, one of the richest and best educated Scotchmen. She was Marie Clementina, daughter of the renowned John Robison, Lord of Parliament.

At 14, he became Prince James Stewart had two sons, John and Edward Lewis Chessman, the latter of whom in 1724 married 1772 the accomplished Princess Diana, the Niece-nephew of Brothie, a granddaughter of Lord Carruthers. Brothie married a French Baron, daughter of Fougere, Earl of Eglar and Spenser. Prince Charles Stewart was no more in 1780 without legitimate heirs. As for a natural son, the Duke of Albany, who inherited the name of the second son of John, the first, was dead, he had been killed from the Turks, and Prince George, Maria Chessman, the Carleton House, was dead at Rome, but, (from the Stewart House, the Chessman's) he had a son, Prince George, the son John Chessman, the second son of Prince George, who was with confidence in the Duke of Albany. He married the Duke's daughter, the daughter of the Duke and the Duke's daughter and the Duke's daughter, the Duke's daughter.

CHURCH, CHURCH, M. L.



## PREFACE

THE authors of this history have devoted many years to the study of the Jacobite movement in Scotland and the Risings which resulted from it. Some time ago they published a book specially concerned with the part played in the "Forty-five" under Prince Charles Edward by the men of the north-east corner of Scotland, whose heroism had been somewhat neglected in the many histories of that glorious adventure of the Highlanders. The Rising of thirty years earlier under the Old Chevalier, Prince James Francis Edward Stuart, which has always fascinated them, is much less known, and a modern history of it, within moderate compass, may perhaps serve to interest those who have hitherto known or thought little of this campaign.

The Rising of 1715 was even more noticeably connected with the north-east of Scotland than was the '45, since the Standard was raised on September 6, 1715, on the Braes of Mar, Deeside, and the Jacobite army, when abandoned by its leaders at Montrose on February 4, 1716, made its way to Aberdeen, then to Strathbogie, and was finally disbanded at Ruthven in Badenoch; but the progress of events in every part of Scotland, as well as in the north of England, has been treated—that is, the whole of "the Rising." The authors have not attempted to touch on the abortive attempts in the West and South of England, which failed to materialize through procrastination and premature revelations, as well as from lack of adequate leaders. It is obvious that had they attained any measure of success, and had the Duke of Ormonde been able to effect his landing in Devonshire and link up with the

## PREFACE

Jacobites of the West and Wales, the whole course of events in the North, and in England generally, would have been quite different. As it was, the Northern effort stood, and fell, alone.

In order to avoid encumbering the history with too many personal details, short biographies of fifteen more important participants in the Rising are given at the end of the book.<sup>1</sup> A few appendices of historical and general interest, from unpublished or not easily accessible sources, have been added.

That this episode in history has hitherto received comparatively little attention is evident from the fact that such a competent military historian as Sir John Fortescue makes the following statement in his *Life of Marlborough*, page 154<sup>2</sup> : "He (Marlborough) had some little part as Commander-in-Chief in the suppression of the Rebellion of 1715, though he delegated the active work in the field to Cadogan." The facts being that Marlborough (the "Captain General"), who was within a few months of his first paralytic stroke, having appointed Argyll to the Command in Scotland and raised a voluntary loan for additional forces, took no further active participation ; Argyll communicated, as will be seen, only with Lord Townshend as to his own movements and requirements. Generals Carpenter and Wills commanded in England, while Cadogan was in Holland until after the battles of Preston and Sheriffmuir, since he signed the Barrier Treaty at the Hague, where he was Minister, two days after those events, viz. November 15, 1715. He came over with the Dutch troops, sent in accordance with a Treaty, to reinforce Argyll, in December of that year, and thereafter acted as an unofficial spy on the movements of the Scottish Commander-in-Chief,

<sup>1</sup> The life histories of many of the rank and file were published in 1934 by Oliver and Boyd, under the title of *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in 1715*, by A. and H. Tayler.

<sup>2</sup> In his history of the British Army, Fortescue also says, "I shall not detain the reader with any detailed account of the abortive rising of 1715, though the peril to England was great—such was her military impotence."—Vol. II., page 6.



## PREFACE

who was suspected of favouring his fellow countrymen in defeat, and as Second-in-Command, till Argyll's departure for the South in February 1716, when he became for a short time Commander-in-Chief in Scotland. Cadogan wrote personally to Marlborough (see pages 145, 147), but the Rising was by then almost over, since Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, the Lord Justice Clerk, could remark (on 30th December), "Here is this formidable rebellion evanish like smoke." (See page 155.)

Much hitherto unpublished material has been used in this work, the authors having been privileged to have access to many private family papers bearing on the period. They wish to record special thanks to the owners of the charter rooms and papers at—Brodie Castle, Castle Forbes, Castle Grant, Cultoquhey, Crathes Castle, Gordon Castle, Cairnfield, Cullen House, Duff House, Auchmacoy, Keir, Learney, Letterfourie, Fettercairn, Forglen, Leith-Hall, Dunollie, Ardchattan, Meldrum, Monymusk, and others.

Also to the authorities of the Record Office,<sup>1</sup> the King's Library at Windsor, the French Foreign Office, National Library of Scotland, Lyon-Office, Scottish Record Office, City Chambers and University Library, Edinburgh, British Museum, London Library, Aberdeen Free Library, University Library and Advocates Library, Aberdeen, and the Musée Calvet, Avignon.

ALISTAIR TAYLER.

HENRIETTA TAYLER.

*April 1936.*

<sup>1</sup> References to State Papers in the Public Record Office are all given as *S.P.* with the number of series, bundle, and folio. Quotations from, or references to, MSS. in other Collections are fully acknowledged, except when only indirect reference is made to them in the narrative.





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## CHRONOLOGY OF THE RISING

1701

- 6 Sept. Death of James II., ex-King of Great Britain—  
Proclamation of his son as James III.

1714

- 1 Aug. Death of Queen Anne—Proclamation of George I.  
29 Aug. Issue of James Stuart's protest from Plombières.  
15 Sept. Offer of a reward of £100,000 for the arrest of  
the "Pretender."  
18 Sept. Landing of George I. at Greenwich.  
1 Dec. Proclamation of James III. in Devonshire and else-  
where.

1715

- 2 Aug. Departure of the Earl of Mar for Scotland.  
20 Aug. His arrival at Braemar.  
27 Aug. "Hunting party" at Braemar.  
3 Sept. Meeting of Jacobite leaders at Aboyne.  
6 Sept. Raising of the Standard at Braemar.  
8 Sept. Unsuccessful attempt on Edinburgh Castle.  
14 Sept. Perth seized by Colonel Hay, and Inverness by  
Mackintosh of Mackintosh.  
20 Sept. James III. and VIII. proclaimed at Aberdeen.  
12 Oct. Passage of the Forth by Mackintosh of Borlum.  
22 Oct. Junction of Scots and English Jacobites at Kelso.  
24 Oct. Disaster at Dunfermline.  
28 Oct. James left Bar-le-duc.  
13 Nov. Battles of Sheriffmuir and Preston.  
22 Dec. Arrival of King James at Peterhead.

# CHRONOLOGY OF THE RISING

1716

- 9 Jan. State entry of James into Perth.
- 10 Jan. Proclamation to all subjects to join his Standard.
- 31 Jan. Jacobite retreat from Perth.
- 4 Feb. Departure of James from Montrose.
- 8 Feb. Argyll entered Aberdeen.
- 24 Feb. Execution of Derwentwater and Kenmure.
- 2 April. Arrival of James at Avignon.

1717

- 17 Feb. James left Avignon for Italy.

1766

- 1 Jan. James III. and VIII., for sixty-five years *de jure* King of Great Britain and Ireland, died in Rome.



## PART I





# 1715 : THE STORY OF THE RISING

## CHAPTER I

### THE JACOBITE POSITION IN 1714

#### A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE MEN AND TIMES

THIS book is an attempt to give, it is believed for the first time, a succinct account from original sources of what happened in Scotland in the autumn and winter of 1715-16, the only extant histories of this period being mainly contemporary and voluminous, such as those of Rae and Patten. For many reasons the events of this important period have never been so widely known nor have they appealed to the popular imagination, even among perfervid Scots, to the same extent as those of the later Jacobite attempt of 1745-46.

For this difference, of course, Sir Walter Scott and his Waverley novels are partially responsible, and also the fact that in spite of much more favourable conditions this Rising of 1715 never came anywhere near a possible, if ephemeral, success such as was achieved by Prince Charles's march to Derby. The reasons for the progressive Jacobite failure in the '15 will be made sufficiently clear in the course of this narrative, but one prime cause which operated from the beginning lay in the personality of its two leaders—the Earl of Mar, who was solely responsible for the leadership from August to December 1715, and James Stuart himself, whose

six weeks in Scotland almost coincided with the collapse of the Rising.

John Earl of Mar had done well as Secretary for Scotland under Queen Anne, though he continued to keep up some kind of unofficial connection with the court at St. Germain, <sup>1</sup> but he was a half-hearted Jacobite at best, or rather, had the German George not turned his back upon Mar on arrival in England, the latter was willing and eager to become one of the props of the Whig Government in the newly united kingdom of Great Britain, and, indeed, had hopes of retaining and improving the prominent position he had hitherto held. <sup>2</sup>

Whether the uncompromising discourtesy with which the recently arrived Elector George (so soon to be crowned king of England, Scotland, and Ireland) treated Mar at Greenwich was entirely due to information as to the former minister's trimming propensities, or partially to natural bad manners, it had far-reaching consequences. Mar had, as is well known, already obtained the signatures of a certain number of Scottish lords to an address of welcome sent to George of Hanover before the latter's arrival, but finding himself out of favour with the new régime, Mar then proceeded as rapidly as possible to furbish up and strengthen all possible links with the old. It is not perhaps surprising that he was never very fully trusted by many of those who were loyal Jacobites and legitimists by conviction. Moreover, he was no soldier, and it is inconceivable that any one but himself should have selected him to head and command a rising. James Stuart had, it is believed, never even seen him. It was one of the great misfortunes of the house of Stuart that its members were for ever trusting the wrong people.

To Prince James Francis Edward Stuart, in whose interest the Rising was undertaken, and who should have been its hero, fate was less than kind. He was never such a gallant

<sup>1</sup> He says this himself. See *Mar's Legacies*.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed study of Mar's career see page 183.

figure of romance as his more famous son, and little of personal glamour surrounded him in any of the four attempts to set him on the throne of his fathers.<sup>1</sup> Born in 1688, of a disillusioned and gloomy father of nearly fifty-five and a delicate Italian mother who had seen his brother and four sisters die in their cradles, his very parentage doubted from the day of his birth, and himself a fugitive from his native land before he was six months old, it is scarcely surprising that he should be of a melancholy, taciturn, almost morbid nature, and dogged throughout his career by ill-health and ill-luck. The story of his early life is a sad one, and can only be briefly outlined here.

He was carried in his mother's arms to France as a baby, and grew up at St. Germain in his father's shadow court, all the members of which had given up home and fortune for what seemed a lost cause, and all were living precariously on the bounty of the French monarch. That a very large sum, actually the property of Queen Marie of Modena (being her dowry), was unjustly retained by the Government of William of Orange, and only partially restored in the form of a pension to her great-grandson, the Cardinal York, a century later, did not make the Stuart family and house, for the moment, any the less poor.

When James Francis was thirteen years old his father, the prematurely aged and saddened ex-king, James II., died, and the boy found himself heir to the throne of the United Kingdom and to very little else, save the fervent loyalty of the exiles who surrounded him, a loyalty which was to lose a little both of its purity and of its fervour in the long years of waiting for events and amidst the incessant intrigues which ensued. Negotiations with Scotland went on all the time, and a great

<sup>1</sup> 1708, 1715, 1719, and 1745. He was personally concerned only in the two first. In his life-history were to be found many elements of Greek tragedy, and what was said upon the scaffold by the unfortunate Norfolk (dying for the cause of James's lovely great-grandmother in 1584) was almost as true of him: "Nothing that was begun by her or for her has ever turned out well."



deal of support was promised there, but the promises were not all fulfilled.

Seven years later, in March 1708, took place the first of the four attempts to place James Francis on the British throne. This expedition is comparatively little known in history, but can only be treated quite shortly. Louis XIV., le Grand Monarque, had always retained a kindly feeling for his deposed confrère, James II. of England, although James was never the personal friend that Charles II. had been. He was ever too uncompromisingly honest, as well as too obstinate, to serve French ends while he retained his own throne, and a constant if mute reproach when he had lost it ; but for the sake of the dead Charles and his fascinating sister Henrietta, and largely also from a sense of the freemasonry of kings, Louis had always been very kind and generous to the fallen Stuart monarch and his family. Compelled by the exigencies of the wars in the Low Countries, which had not been going as well for France as he could have wished, Louis was obliged, in 1697, to sign the Treaty of Ryswick, acknowledging William of Orange as King of England. But this made no difference in his treatment of his royal guest and kinsman (James was his first cousin), and when the latter was on his deathbed in 1701, Louis, with a royal disregard for treaty obligations, and a very human desire to soothe the dying moments of an unfortunate man, promised to proclaim James's young son as King of Great Britain and Ireland, and had it done the moment the breath was out of the father's body.

This was probably an error in tactics, for the Treaty of Ryswick was with William of Orange personally, and had Louis waited but a few months for the death of the latter, the proclamation of Anne's brother (who might, had his parents allowed it, have been long ago adopted as William's heir) would have outraged political morality less, and might conceivably have had more chance of a favourable reception in England. As it was, Louis tore up his treaty with England

and the Empire, put his grandson on the throne of Spain in 1700, Anne succeeded peacefully in 1702, the War of the Spanish succession devastated Europe, and the series of Marlborough's defeats of France and her allies began. Nevertheless, and partly as a diversion, early in 1708 Louis fitted out a fine expedition to carry the young "Chevalier de St. George" (a transparent incognito then used for the first time) to the shores of his native land, and benevolently wished that he might never see the boy's face again. James was then twenty.

The expedition was a failure, to which several causes contributed. James caught the measles, which delayed the start, and gave the English time to mobilize; the weather, ever inimical to the sailings of Stuarts, was more than usually violent; finally the supineness and quarrels of the naval and military commanders, Admiral de Forbin and the Marquis de Matignon, selected by Louis, completed the catastrophe. In any case, neither James nor the expedition ever set foot in Scotland, but returned ignominiously from a running fight north of the Isle of May, commemorated by Queen Anne's Government in a rare medal depicting the fight and having round the rim the insulting legend *Sic pueri nasum rhinocerotis habent*.<sup>1</sup>

A few of the more prominent Jacobites were arrested and sent to London for trial, but no forfeitures nor fines resulted. One instance of Highland fidelity occurred in connection with James Stirling of Keir, who had actually ridden out armed to meet the expected landing. The only witness produced against him was his own henchman, and the sturdy Scot when interrogated in London said he "remembered nothing." As they rode home, free men, the master remarked on the convenient shortness of the man's memory. "Eh, Laird," was the reply, "I ken fine what ye mean. But I thocht it was far safer to trust my immortal soul to the mercy o' Heaven than your Honour's body to thae damned Whigs."

<sup>1</sup> "Little boys have the noses of rhinoceroses" or cock snooks at the Stuart pretender and his French allies.

After this disaster James tried his wings in the ranks of the French king's army, making part of the "Maison du Roi" or royal guards, and proved at Malplaquet and elsewhere that he had the personal courage of his race, and won golden opinions all round, even from the English in the opposite camp.<sup>1</sup> But in 1711 and 1712 the French king had again to give ground politically, and one of the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht, to which he was obliged to consent, was that his Stuart guest must quit French soil. One can believe that the proud Louis consented most unwillingly to this condition both as a host and a relation ; James retired to the Duchy of Lorraine, the enlightened ruler of which gladly offered him hospitality, and thus two further years passed in futile correspondence and abortive plots.

During the last four years of the reign of Queen Anne, as Swift has well shown in the work so entitled, there had been a very distinct revival of Tory policy in England, and vague desires were in the air that the Queen's half-brother might succeed her. The personal feelings of the sovereign still counted for something, though not for as much as when men waited anxiously for the dying Elizabeth to name her successor ! Patriotism or Nationalism counted for more. However Protestant the average Englishman might be, he felt a certain distaste at importing a German to rule over him ; and had he known how completely German was the Elector George in habits, tastes, language, and outlook, he might have hesitated still more. In any case, there was undoubtedly a moment when the combined efforts of Harley, Bolingbroke, and Ormonde might have induced Anne to recognize and recall her brother, if he would only have changed his faith. But that, of course, was impossible ; the moment passed, and with almost her dying act Anne gave the Treasurer's white staff to the

<sup>1</sup> He was a gallant and modest youth, singularly free from the vices which had tarnished some of the Stuarts. Thackeray's picture of him in *Esmond* as a libertine never had the slightest foundation in fact.



Whig Duke of Shrewsbury. That was the attitude of England in August 1714. Matters in France were almost as much at the mercy of cross currents of personal feeling.

Louis XIV., still the monarch who had said in his flaming youth, "*L'Etat c'est moi*," and still the head of his own government, was growing old. He was seventy-five, and was married to an able if narrow-minded woman who concerned herself a good deal with politics but more with the salvation of her partner's soul. The *beau geste*, of proclaiming the accession of James III. as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland the moment his father was dead, if very much in Louis's usual manner, was known to have been made largely under the influence of the kindly Grand Dauphin and the pious Madame de Maintenon, who saw in it a possible restoration of Catholic worship in England, the corresponding spiritual gain for King Louis, and expiation for his former disordered life.

Besides this lofty motive there was also the more prosaic and ever-present one which induced France to welcome anything which would weaken England, give her trouble at home and leave her the less strength to interfere with the designs of France to "abolish the Pyrenees" and establish the Bourbons in the control of half Europe. By this time Philip of Anjou was seated on his Spanish throne, and more or less firmly established there by the Treaty of Utrecht. But with all his desire to see civil war in England followed by a possible Stuart restoration, Louis knew that his military resources would not permit him to give James an army with which to conquer England. All he was prepared to do was to help him to conquer it for himself, with the aid of his own subjects. He was ready to bestow upon this young cousin arms, men, money, and his blessing, and then at the critical moment the old man died, September 1, 1715. His successor was his frail little five-year-old great-grandson, to be known as Louis XV., and destined to have a long and prosperous reign of sixty years, but at the moment of his accession the sole survivor of

the family of four—father, mother, and elder brother having all died suddenly and mysteriously, and the child himself seeming little likely to survive.

The obvious Regent was Philippe of Orléans, nephew and son-in-law of the late king,<sup>1</sup> who had distrusted him and tried to tie his hands in every possible way, leaving the personal guardianship of the child king to his own illegitimate son, the Duc de Maine, and having nominated a council to control Orléans. The latter had, however, the ear of the parliament of Paris, and succeeded in getting himself invested with supreme political power. He was an able man, of active brain and scientific attainments, including a special interest in chemistry, which caused him to be unjustly accused of having cleared his path of some inconvenient relations. He was probably quite content to reign, virtually, in the name of his small cousin, for reign he did, and it was not to be expected that he should actively carry out any benevolent plans Louis XIV. may have had for the benefit of the exiled Stuart. His natural affinity was with the Hanoverian ruler in the saddle<sup>2</sup> and with his minister, Lord Stair,<sup>3</sup> and the utmost that could be expected was a non-interference with those of the Jacobites' own plans which were actually under way; and even there it will be seen that at Stair's request he laid an embargo on the sailing of ships with large supplies of men and stores from French ports (page 50).

This was the attitude of France in 1715. It remains to be seen what had been happening in England at and after the death of Queen Anne, and to show why the English Jacobites as a body failed to move, then or later.

<sup>1</sup> Being the son of the only brother of Louis, Philippe of Orléans, Monsieur, once the husband of Henrietta of England. The Regent's mother was Charlotte Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, and thus first cousin to George of Hanover.

<sup>2</sup> It was said maliciously that "the two usurpers must hang together."

<sup>3</sup> The second Earl of Stair, son of the man responsible for the Massacre of Glencoe.

## CHAPTER II

### THE DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE

FOR some years before the Queen's death the Jacobite party had entertained great hopes that she might make a will declaring her brother to be her heir. It was known that although she had, *under pressure*, allowed him to be described as "the Pretender," and a reward to be offered by her council for his apprehension should he land in Great Britain or Ireland, in 1704, and again after the attempt of 1708,<sup>1</sup> she had for long felt affectionate and sentimental yearnings towards him, and had desired, if possible, by restoring him, to salve her own conscience for her treatment of her father. She had never had any affection for her nominated Protestant successor and her father's first cousin, the Electress Sophia (who only predeceased her by a few weeks); still less for Sophia's son, whom she personally disliked since his refusal of her as a bride long ago, or for his son, whom she had been forced to create Duke of Cambridge, but refused to have in England.<sup>2</sup> It is curious to read the letter written by James and sent, through the Duke of Buckingham, to his half-sister, Anne (whom he had never seen), to console her for what she considered a plot to bring the Electoral Prince to England,

<sup>1</sup> Though one privy councillor rose in his place and said, "It was a heinous offence and against the principles of a Christian, to offer any such reward."

<sup>2</sup> See the correspondence about the coming of Prince George, afterwards George II., to England in 1714. The idea that he should come nearly gave Queen Anne an apoplectic seizure, while the decision that he should not is said to have caused the sudden death of his aged grandmother the Electress Sophia.



against her wishes. James says how ready he would be "to vindicate her quarrel were it in his power," and signs himself her "truly affectionate brother." This, too, just after she had been forced by Parliament to write to the Duke of Lorraine asking him to remove to a greater distance "the person who pretends to my crown." No notice was taken by the ruler of Lorraine of the request, and James, of course, received no answer to his letter.

Bolingbroke was appointed Secretary of State by Anne, but was soon removed by King George I.<sup>1</sup> But Harley, Lord Oxford, was dismissed from his post of Lord Treasurer, which was given to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who greatly assisted in the peaceable accession of King George; he and the Duke of Argyll, who attended dramatically and uninvited the first meeting of the Privy Council, did much to stiffen the Whig leaders.

On her deathbed Anne is said to have given secret instructions to the Bishop of Oxford, who left the royal bedchamber saying, "Madam, I will obey your commands. I'll declare your mind, but it will cost me my head." Nothing further, however, was heard of these dying wishes of Anne's, so it is presumed he did not obey the commands—or declare her mind.

The fiery Bishop Atterbury of Rochester offered "to proclaim King James at Charing Cross in his lawn sleeves," if given but one troop of Guards to protect him! but none of the Tory leaders had the courage to support this, and he exclaimed bitterly, "There is the best cause in Europe lost for want of spirit."

The Duke of Buckingham told the Duke of Ormonde, considered to be James's chief representative in the council,

<sup>1</sup> His own comment on his removal is characteristically cynical. "To be removed was neither matter of surprise nor of concern to me, but the manner of my removal (*i.e.* the suddenness of it) shocked me for at least two minutes." —Letter to Atterbury, *S.P.* 35, 1, 316.

that he had "twenty-four hours to do his business in"; but Ormonde was cautious, no one moved, and the machinery so carefully organized by William to facilitate the transference of the crown to the house of Hanover worked as surely as if the grim Dutchman had been there to supervise it.

The eighteen noblemen appointed to act as regents, with the seven Lords Justices, sat day and night over the affairs of the State. They took upon themselves to destroy a sealed packet found under the Queen's pillow after her death. It was opened, and though the contents were not made known, Bolingbroke told the French ambassador, d'Iberville, that it contained proofs of the Queen's love for her brother, and suspicions were entertained that it was a Will in his favour. Had James been able to appear at once in London much might have been done, for even the Hanoverian agent Robethon thought "the crown would belong to him who was first there to seize it."<sup>1</sup> But though James hurried from Commercy to Chaillot to see his mother, intending to cross at once, he received no support from the French court, only orders from the Marquis de Torcy to return to Lorraine, and no tidings of any kind, as he expected, from supporters in England or in Scotland. He could, therefore, do nothing but obey the order, issue his protests and *wait*, as he had been doing all his life.

It is extraordinary that, considering the number of Jacobite intrigues which had been going on ever since James Francis arrived at his legal majority (both before and after the disastrous expedition of 1708), no definite plans should have been made as to the action to be taken at Anne's death, which event had long been expected. What was wanting then, as throughout the events of the following year, was a *leader*.

<sup>1</sup> Cadogan, the minister at the Hague, had written on 7th May to Bothmar in Germany, that unless the Electoral Prince came to England soon "The succession is inevitably lost."—*Macpherson's Original Papers*, Vol. II., page 616.

As it was, on September 15th the Lords Justices of England issued a new proclamation ordering the payment of "£100,000 to any one who should seize and secure the Pretender in case he shall land in Great Britain or Ireland." This was the only official notice taken of James II.'s son, and on the 18th George of Hanover landed in England.

The Tory leaders, having missed their opportunity for a Stuart restoration, gave up all idea of such a thing and proceeded instead to try and ingratiate themselves with the new Protestant régime. Even some of the Scots began to go over to the Government. The Duke of Atholl went to London and took the oaths, and the Earl of Mar, Secretary of State for Scotland, sent the address already noted to the new monarch before his arrival, dated August 30, 1714 (signed by Breadalbane and many Highland lords), assuring him of their loyalty and support. The news of this was the hardest blow of all for James to bear, since the prolonged negotiations conducted by Nathaniel Hooke, from 1703 onwards, had given him perhaps an exaggerated idea of the support ready for him in Scotland. There had even been the suggestion that he should be first proclaimed King of Scotland, though this idea had been vetoed by his mother; and the Union of the Crowns, which had subsequently been carried through by the Whig ministers, had only served to stimulate Scottish loyalty to the ancient royal house, even in the formerly strongly Protestant West.<sup>1</sup>

French politicians realized more than ever the advantages to themselves of civil war in Great Britain.<sup>2</sup> There is in the French Foreign Office a long letter from one of the Govern-

<sup>1</sup> On January 1, 1715, the senators of the College of Justice in Edinburgh proposed to send an address congratulating King George on his accession; but the idea had to be dropped, as some of the members would only consent if the new king were to be asked at the same time to repeal the Union.—*French Foreign Office paper.*

<sup>2</sup> "En tout cas il est certain, que le premier coup de fusil d'une guerre civile en Angleterre sauverait la France."—*Archives des Affaires étrangères. Papiers d'Ecosse*, 260-286.



ment secret correspondents. It is of date December 1714, and states among other things that had James landed in Scotland immediately after Anne's death it would have "changed the face of everything. He would have had an army of thirty or forty thousand in a week; the Castle of Edinburgh would not have held out for a day. The Magistrates of Edinburgh had given orders for a gold key to be handed to the King when he arrived, and though thousands knew of all this, *no one revealed it.*" The correspondent adds admiringly: "*Si je fais jamais un complot, ce sera avec les Ecossais.*"<sup>1</sup>

Men, money, and arms were likewise available from France, and Philip of Anjou, the new King of Spain, was induced to promise 10,000 men and to send some money, but it arrived too late. (See page 144.) Even the Duke of Marlborough, once a favourite page of King James II., since then a famous Whig general, and now in disgrace with Queen Anne's ministers, sent £2,000 to James III.'s half-brother, the Duke of Berwick (son, it must be remembered, of King James II. and Arabella Churchill), and promised £2,000 more. Berwick, writing to de Torcy, says, "This gives me great hopes, considering the character of my uncle, who is not wont to scatter his money thus, unless he foresees that it will prove of some utility." A large number of Berwick's letters exist, and throw much light on Stuart affairs.<sup>2</sup> That he himself was unable to come to Scotland and lead his half-brother's army to victory was due, not to personal lukewarmness but to the fact of his French nationality, assumed, with that half-brother's consent, in 1703, and to the refusal of King Louis XIV. before his death (and subsequently of the Regent Orléans) to allow Berwick to leave the country. Papers in the French Foreign Office prove this, but James took it

<sup>1</sup> *Archives des Affaires étrangères. Papiers d'Ecosse*, 260-286.

<sup>2</sup> He offered, on the day before Anne's death, to guarantee the payment of troops if they could be sent at once, but this was not possible.—*Papiers des Affaires étrangères.*

very hardly, and even at one moment forgot his natural courtesy, when he wrote to Bolingbroke that he would "no longer court a disobedient subject and a bastard," though he soon resumed his usual "sweet reasonableness," and saw that Berwick "could not help it."<sup>1</sup>

The Royal Madman of Europe, Charles XII. of Sweden, was also a possible helper, though nothing came of the project in his case.<sup>2</sup>

What was lacking was a determined policy and a leader. It was not the fault of James Francis Stuart that he had no military capacity and no genius for leadership, but he or his advisers should have been ready for action on the demise of Queen Anne, and a competent military leader should have been selected and given authority to act. The Earl of Mar was the worst possible choice—if indeed James *did* choose him, of which there is no evidence. He had already changed his political party three times, was to do so three times again before his death, and no one trusted him. He was personally brave enough (none but the Master of Sinclair<sup>3</sup> doubted his courage), but he was no soldier and *never* knew what to do, or if he did, never had the strength of mind to carry it out.

A letter from Monsieur d'Iberville, the French ambassador who disliked the English climate,<sup>4</sup> written after the surrender at Preston, emphasizes Mar's lost opportunities. He announces

<sup>1</sup> Berwick's own letter to Mar (February 12, 1716), after the failure of the Rising, states that he felt "as a Marshal of France he could not desert like a trooper." (He might have added, "like his uncle," Marlborough, of whom it was said by Marshal Schömberg that he was "the only general officer who ever deserted in face of the enemy.")

<sup>2</sup> Charles had at one time been willing to give his sister Ulrica (who eventually succeeded him) as a bride to James, and himself to marry James's sister, Louise-Marie, who died unmarried in 1712, aged twenty.

<sup>3</sup> The racy but somewhat ill-natured account of the affair of 1715, entitled *Memoirs of the Rising*, is one of the most valuable sources of contemporary Scots information on the Jacobite side, when due allowance is made for the author's spleen.

<sup>4</sup> He says he would have hanged himself long ago had he been an Englishman.

to his Government that British engineers are being sent north to repair the forts built by Cromwell at Perth, Aberdeen, and Inverness, "par lesquels on espère tenir en bride les Montagnards pour toujours." (To restrain the Highlanders for ever.) But, he adds, these places must first be *taken*, and possibly Mar may dispute possession of them for at least a year, if one may judge by the example of "Monsieur de Dundee," who with 700 Highlanders entirely defeated 4,000 of the best troops of King William, and would perhaps have kept Scotland for King James II. had he not been killed in the action of Killiecrankie. (The national hero is described by the Frenchman as *un pestiféré*.)<sup>1</sup>

Finally must be given James Stuart's own point of view. He at least had no doubt of the justice of his claim to the throne of Great Britain. He was the only surviving son of James II., the crowned and anointed king of that country. The story of his being some one else's child, introduced into the palace in a warming-pan, was never seriously believed by any one save the ignorant multitude. It was a legend created to facilitate the accession to the throne of his half-sister Mary and her Protestant husband, which accession took place by methods which, however legal, could never be recognized by holders of the theory of "Divine Right." James Francis knew himself to have been created Prince of Wales by his father when on the throne, and after that father's death he held that all the inhabitants of Great Britain were without doubt his subjects. That he did not take the very best steps to gain his end must be set down partially to his entire lack of education in statecraft and the science of government; he had been bred all his life among disappointed intriguers. Communications were slow and difficult, but he was in no way to blame for the premature beginning of the Rising in Scotland. Berwick's statement that James sent secret orders to Mar to raise the Standard is unsupported by any evidence, and

<sup>1</sup> *Archives des Affaires étrangères. Papiers d'Ecosse, 260-286.*



disproved by the Prince's own letters. James would naturally have been anxious to be present himself at the beginning of affairs. He knew that he had been nothing but a pawn in the expedition of 1708, and was determined to make a fight this time and to be in it, in spite of all the difficulties placed in his way. He issued his famous protest against the assumption of the throne of England by the Elector of Hanover, pointing out that besides himself there were fifty-seven other descendants of Charles I. with a better right to this position, and other proclamations, which have been often printed. One will be found in the Appendix. His own unavoidably undistinguished part in what occurred before the Rising may be briefly epitomized.

On the receipt of the news of Anne's death he came immediately to Paris, only to be told that he could not be received and must return to Lorraine. There he waited for more than another year, consuming his soul in impatience while Ormonde, whom he appointed Captain-General, Bolingbroke, Berwick and others of his nominal supporters, corresponded with Scotland as to the possibilities of a rising, and quarrelled among themselves as to the details. He had sent a message to Scotland in October 1714 to announce his intentions, and finally, really hoping to get across the Channel, he made, in July 1715, some kind of plan for a rendezvous on August 10th with his supporters in Scotland, sending Lord John Drummond ahead to prepare for his arrival. This was the period at which Berwick, though not intending to go himself to Scotland, was continually urging his half-brother to go—"Now or never he must make the attempt, otherwise he may make himself a Cardinal—he will never be a King" (*Stuart Papers, passim*).

Finding it impossible to carry out his intention, James hastily sent Lochiel's brother, Allan Cameron, with counter-orders; but Cameron was taken prisoner on his way to the coast, and returned to Paris, later sailing with James himself in December. In July and August no one quite knew what

any one else was doing, and James was both horrified and alarmed when informed, on September 2nd, by James Murray of Stormont, the secretary to Bolingbroke, that Mar had left London for Scotland without orders, was about to raise the Standard, and was asking for a commission.

James himself eventually made a stealthy and romantic departure from Commercy on October 28th, and managing to see his mother once more in secret, started for the coast, meaning to take ship for England or Scotland as speedily as possible. His adventures in northern France during the next few months were as exciting and full of danger as those of his uncle after Worcester, but have been curiously neglected by historians. He attempted first to reach Nantes (whence his son was later to start for Scotland), but was foiled by the active spies of the Regent, and had to return to Paris and start again.<sup>1</sup>

His life had been attempted more than once, possibly with the connivance of Orléans, but most trying of all was the uncertainty as to what was happening elsewhere in his name, and his own inability to be on the spot. (See page 118.)

It was one of his many misfortunes and not his fault that the whole affair was disgracefully mismanaged by his lieutenants, and the cause lost before he was able to start at all.

The study of the history of the '45 fills the reader with admiration for the ungrudging loyalty of the Prince's followers, and with sorrow and compassion for their subsequent sufferings, but in reading the story of the earlier attempt, the chief emotions aroused are those of grief and anger at wasted opportunities.

Postulating that which is always questionable, viz. that the return from exile, *for the second time*, of a Stuart sovereign to the throne of Great Britain was the right and best thing for

<sup>1</sup> He then wrote a letter to the States-General of Holland, dated from St. Germain en Laye, December 1, 1715, announcing his departure for Scotland, and signed by "Higgon."—*Archives des Affaires étrangères*.

the nation, here was the heaven-sent opportunity, and by gross mismanagement it was entirely thrown away. Men, money, and arms were available. Only the leader and the inspiration were wanting.

"A Historical Address to Prince Charles by the veteran Jacobite, Lord Pitsligo, written in May of the year 1747," contains the following passage describing the end of the Rising of 1715-16, which emphasizes the feelings of James throughout the period :

"The King your father wanted opportunities of exposing himself to danger for the deliverance of his People, as well as the Recovery of his own Rights ; and he put it on a Trial in the year 1715 ; but the affair was crush'd *before he landed*, and he was obliged to put to sea again, very narrowly escaping the English Ships of War. He was not long in France till he must hear of the Executions, Transportations, and Forfeitures of many of his Friends. Those legal Cruelties must have affected him very deeply, to say nothing of his own tedious exile ; but he is not capable of taking Revenge, were it in his Power, as indeed it would sute ill with the Father of a People." These were the words of one of the noblest of James Stuart's followers, who lived to fight again under his son.



### CHAPTER III

## THE BEGINNING OF THE RISING

THE stage was now set for the beginning of the Rising, and yet nothing happened. The preliminaries for the invasion of Britain, which ought, with any chance of success, to have taken place within a few days, or at most weeks, of Anne's death, hung fire unaccountably, and the details of preparations in France were all known to Lord Stair, the British ambassador, and by him conveyed to his Government, long before they took effect. It was a year and a day after the Queen's death (*viz.* August 2, 1715) before Mar started for Scotland to raise the Standard and to assume "command of the King's forces" there. Bolingbroke and Ormonde in France had already realized that the French assistance was going to be very hard to mobilize. Authorities of all kinds put difficulties in the way, and the weather, as always, proved unfavourable to the Stuart cause, in destroying more than one promising effort to get men and supplies across the Channel.

Mar was certainly not at all rapid in his actions, and, curiously enough, it was King George himself who, eleven months after his landing, precipitated matters. He turned his back on Mar at his *levée* on August 1, 1715, and frowned on the other leading Tories, distrusting, not unnaturally, many of the English statesmen.

Ormonde, Oxford, and Bolingbroke had long been known to be the heads of James's party. Lord Bolingbroke, determined to be safe, fled to France in April 1715, though he denied on arrival that he had come to negotiate with James,

refused for a month even to see Berwick to talk things over, and was comparatively of little importance in the events of 1715.

Robert Harley, Lord Oxford, was impeached, arrested on July 16, 1715, and committed to the Tower, whence he was not released for two years, though his imprisonment does not appear to have been very rigorous, and he corresponded freely with his friends.

James Butler, Duke of Ormonde (who had been discharged from his offices the day George landed in 1714), fled, in August 1715, only just in time to avoid a similar arrest. He arrived in Paris without clothes or servants, not having dared to wait for anything. Robert Arbuthnot was with him, and a letter from the latter describing their flight is in the French Foreign Office Archives.<sup>1</sup>

Mar then, accompanied by General Hamilton, took ship from London, secretly, and, transhipping at Newcastle, landed in Scotland at the little seaport of Elie on the coast of Fife, and making his way northward, proceeded to set the heather on fire.

The authorities in Edinburgh were ready for emergencies, even before the Standard was raised.

The Lord Provost of Edinburgh, George Warrender, M.P., wrote to Secretary Stanhope :

“Edinburgh, 26th August 1715.

“MY LORD,

Since my last to your Lop. of the 23 Currant wee have hade severall repeated accompts from the north of Scotland, particularly from that place called the Brac of Mar that severall of our peers and gentlemen have made frequent Councils with the Earle of Mar and are now drawing to a bodie and talking of forming a camp, so that we have good reasons to conclude that nothing less than a sudden insur-

<sup>1</sup> *Papiers d'Ecosse*, 274. Also letter of earlier date, *ibid.*

rectione is intended in favour of the Pretender. The well affected in the parts are in a great consternation being threatened by the enemies of the government and altogether in a defenceless conditione.

The Magistrats of this place shall take all imaginable precautions to secure the peace of the city against any that may be among our selves, but in case there happens an incursion from the Highland clans or others in the North, it is to be feared that we shall not be able to stand our ground ; wherefor it is earnestly intreated your Lop. will be pleased seriously to recommend our case to his Majesty and send us such a number of standing forces as may secure us from being overrun by the enemy. I am, etc."

(MS., *Edinburgh City Chambers.*)

On the same date, the city of Glasgow sent an address to King George in London expressing the detestation of the city fathers for "the Popish Pretender," and offering to raise a regiment of 500 men with full pay and provision for sixty days, to operate wherever required.<sup>1</sup> This was for the moment declined, but was nevertheless raised, and later went to join Argyll at Stirling under the command of John Aird, late provost. On the day of Sheriffmuir, this regiment was left to guard the town, and one of the earliest accounts of the battle was that sent by Aird to the Provost of Glasgow. His details were mainly correct save that he minimized Argyll's losses.

The fact of a projected rising was known to Lord Carnwath and his brother, Captain Dalzell, and to many others in different parts of Scotland, before Mar landed at Elie.<sup>2</sup>

The English Government was fully cognizant of all the plots, etc., that were going on, and had made its own preparations, by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and passing an act for the suppression of riots, etc., as well as demanding from

<sup>1</sup> S.P. 54, 7, 13, and 26. <sup>2</sup> See Rae's *History*.



the Dutch Government 6,000 men promised for the defence of the Protestant succession. Further, it had summoned a number of suspected Scottish noblemen and others to appear at Edinburgh and there give security for their good behaviour.

The list of these is long, and comprises the Earls of Seaforth, Wintoun, Carnwath, Southesk, Nithsdale, Linlithgow, Mar, Kinnoull, Panmure, Marischal, and Breadalbane, the Marquis of Huntly, the Lords Glenorchy, Drummond, and Ogilvie, being peers' eldest sons, and Lords Kingston, Kenmure, Stormont, Kilsyth, Rollo, and Nairn. A list of commoners follows.<sup>1</sup> The date of the summons was August 30, 1715.

Only two of those summoned paid any attention to it.<sup>2</sup> It is even surmised that this high-handed action on the part of the Government drove some waverers into opposition, since they had at once to decide for one party or the other.

One of them, John Campbell of Glenorchy (1635-1717), 1st Earl of Breadalbane, had been, to his eternal obloquy, the main instigator of the Massacre of Glencoe (February 13, 1692). He had previously been entrusted by the Government of King William with a very large sum for the pacification of the Highlands, and on being asked by the Earl of Nottingham for details of how the money had been distributed, replied briefly, "My lord, the Highlands are quiet, the money has been spent, and that is the only way of accounting between friends."

At the General Election of 1713 he was, although a very old man, chosen a representative peer, but the new Government of King George, in the following year, did not altogether trust him, and on the alarm of a Jacobite Rising in 1715, he was one of the "suspected" summoned to Edinburgh. He urged his eighty years and a formidable list of ailments<sup>3</sup> to account for his disregarding the summons; but a few weeks

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II. for full list. <sup>2</sup> See page 29.

<sup>3</sup> A certificate from a doctor and a minister stated that he was suffering from "Coughs, rheums, gravels, stitches, Defluxions and disease of the Kidneys."—Collection of original letters: Appendix to Rae's *History of the Rising*.

later found himself well enough to join Mar at Perth, on September 20th, by boat from his castle of Taymouth ! His political principles are impossible to disentangle. In Rae's list of the most considerable chiefs in Scotland, Breadalbane's following is put down as "2,000 men, most with their chief against the Government and in the Rebellion." Argyll had endeavoured in September to unite all his fellow Campbells on the Hanoverian side, but his embassy to Breadalbane met with no response, and shortly afterwards 500 Breadalbane Campbells were sent to join Mar at Dunkeld, though an almost equal number were persuaded by the Earl of Ilay (Argyll's brother) to "return home under positive engagement not to disturb the Peace of his Majesty's affairs."

Breadalbane had been described by the double-dealing Ker of Kersland, in 1708, as "the best head in Scotland," and Macky, in his *Characters of the Scottish Nobility* (which were written for, and sent to, the Electress Sophia), described him as "cunning as a Fox, wise as a Serpent, and slippery as an Eel !"

When the affairs of the Rising seemed to be going well, and Mar with his army of Highlanders was established in Perth, restrained only by the 1,500 men under Argyll in Stirling, Breadalbane, as has been said, *recovered his health* and arrived in the camp. The Master of Sinclair, who was there when he came, describes him as "the merriest grave fellow I ever saw," and he was certainly a humorist, for as time went on and Mar did nothing, the old Earl made the suggestion that he might set up a printing press and distribute news, since there was nothing else to be done. The press was actually sent for from Aberdeen.<sup>1</sup> After Sheriffmuir, the Breadalbane Highlanders deserted and went home, and presently Breadalbane himself made his submission, and was a prisoner in Edinburgh, when his convenient ill-health returned, for the Lord Justice Clerk writes to London in August 1716 (the

<sup>1</sup> "I have sent to Aberdeen for the Printing Press." Mar to Breadalbane, October 14, 1715.

question having arisen of sending up the noble prisoners from Edinburgh to London), asking whether he is to send Lords Balcarres and Breadalbane too—"The latter pleads infirmity and is constantly abed ; what is to be done with him ?" It would appear that shortly after this date Breadalbane was quietly discharged, as the Government did not wish to press for any more executions, and he died at home, early in 1717, aged eighty-two, being succeeded by his second son, who lived to be ninety.

Balcarres was released by the influence of the Duke of Marlborough. He was sixty-three years of age, and had been ten years on the Continent as an adherent of the exiled Stuarts, but after his return the part he took in the Rising was negligible, and seems to have been completely ignored.

At the same time as the summons above mentioned, a number of suspected persons, some not on the list, were thrown into prison in Edinburgh. Among these was Lord Deskford, afterwards the Lord Findlater of the '45, who, in his letter to a member of the Government, displays much injured innocence. He had, of course, *not* been present at Mar's meeting. The cause of his arrest was some letters he had delivered from his father and others to Lord Kinnoull in February 1715. He acknowledges that one was in French, but was concerned solely with a claim for money which a sister of the late Earl of Kinnoull had made on her brother, and the Earl had repudiated. Deskford says that he never delivered any other letters to Kinnoull except those from his father, and was "never at the pains to consider whether this one came by the post or not." The lady *lived* in France. She was aunt to Lord Kinnoull, who was also imprisoned, and not released until February 1716, when he complained of being ill with the gout, the gravel, and scurvy.<sup>1</sup> (*S.P.* 54, 11, 85.)

<sup>1</sup> The Government had good cause to suspect him, as father-in-law of Mar himself and father of John Hay, made a colonel by Mar (in spite of his youth) and very prominent in all the Jacobite operations.



*Letter from Lord Deskford.*

“Edin., Sept. 1, 1715.

“SIR (probably Robert Pringle),

I was extremely surprised when I was made prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, and at that time wrot to Ld. Townsend and assured his Lordship of my innocence and of my fixt resolution to be allways most faithfull to his Majesty and his Government. Being now set at liberty by a warrant signed by you, I return you my most hearty thanks and take this opportunity of assuring you I have allways had the greatest esteem and respect for you.

My father has always educated me in a most sincere love of the Protestant religion, and laws and liberties of my country. I have taken the oaths to his Majesty and had the honour soon after his accession to the throne to assure him of my fidelity and zeal for the prosperity of his reign.

I now beg that you may be pleased in my name to renew these assurances to his Majesty and to acquaint him that I am in a particular manner most sensible of the great favour he has shew'd me in liberating me so soon, before my own application reach'd him. The Justice Clerk has certainly transmitted to you the answer I have made to the Query put to me. I assure you that it is most ingenuous, and I further presume to assure him that I have not been privy to any designs or bad practices or correspondences against his Majesty's Government.

I am, with the greatest esteem and respect, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

DESKFORD.”<sup>1</sup>

(S.P. 54, 8, 1, 2, and 24.)

<sup>1</sup> In the following year Lord Findlater had a protection from the Duke of Argyll :

“To all officers and soldiers.

“You are to take care that no person takes away or abuses anything in or about the house or upon the estates of the Right Honourable The Earl of

And Deskford wrote again, a year later—"to Robert Pringle, Under Secretary of State":

"Inverask, Mar. 3, 1716.

"SIR,

Ld. Kinoul desires me to return you his hearty thanks for your keeping the Secretarys in mind for him and getting his liberation so speedily despatched. It is indeed the greatest favour that could have been done him, for had he continued much longer in prison his life would have been in the greatest danger. I am very glad to have occasion to wish you joy on the good success of the King's Arms and the fair prospect our poor country now has of peace and tranquility. I am sure there is no place less able than it to bear the sad consequences of a civill war. My father's estate, and particularly that part of it which he has given me, has had a very great share of trouble by the free quartering of about three hundred and sixty highlanders in it for five or six weeks together; besides other partys that went over all that corner to raise the double taxes which they exacted from all who remained faithfull to King George. I heartily wish the prosperity of his Majesty's government, and that our nation may never again be exposed to such Calamity and danger.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

DESKFORD."

(S.P. 54, II.)

From a letter written by Lord Deskford to Madame Guyon, the Quietist, in November 1714, and recently published for the first time in the *Mystics of the North-East*, by Professor George Henderson (Third Spalding Club, Aberdeen), it is obvious that he had been at one time a self-confessed, if con-

Findlater on pain of the severest punishment. Given at Aberdeen the 14th February 1716. Argyll."

cealed, Jacobite. He allows that he has "a secret inclination towards the party which is at present *le dessous*, and that if Providence were to favour it, he would be far from grieved." A cautious pronouncement of opinion which might, however, have got him into serious trouble with the Government had it become known at the time.

Others committed to prison on August 24, 1715, were Lords Hume and Wigton, and Lockhart of Carnwarth, to whose *Memoirs* we owe so much of our information as to this period.

Alexander Erskine, Lord Lyon (who was one of those to greet Mar when in Fife), and Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, the only two among those summoned by proclamation who had surrendered themselves, were also, rather unfairly, thrown into prison.

The Rising did not, therefore, in the least take the Government by surprise. On the 4th August 1715 (while Mar and Hamilton were on their journey to Scotland in the Collier<sup>1</sup>), an informer wrote from Edinburgh describing the proceedings of "Lovat and MacIntosh of Borlum who came to Scotland to plot for the Pretender last summer and have now returned to France." (As far as the two mentioned were concerned, this was not true. Lovat only came over later in the year, but others were plotting freely.) "About a month ago Charles Fleming, Esq., the brother of the Earl of Wigtown, and said to be a Colonel in the Pretender's service, arrived here from France and went straight to the north and the Highlands. He told his friends here, as he passed, that in the beginning of August their King would come, and not sooner, and bid them prepare for it. About a fortnight ago John Drummond, Esq. (commonly called Lord John Drummond, one of the Earl of Perth's sons), likewise passed this way from London with the same news for the Highlands." (S.P. 54, 7, 16.)

<sup>1</sup> See page 189.



On 10th August the Provost of Perth acknowledges a letter sent to him, from Lord Stair in Paris, "giving further assurance of the Pretender's design to invade." (*S.P.* 54, 7, 30.)

Other informers announce the arrival of Lord Tullibardine at Blair from London, and of Major-General Hamilton, who landed at Elie with Mar on August 15th, and went to Killyrenny to the house of his son-in-law, Colonel Balfour.

An informer from Edinburgh writes, August 13, 1715 :

"We hear from Strathbogie that the Marquis of Huntly has been wholly taken up with preparations all this summer, specially in buying of horses and using them to the Drum. He is said to have 600 of them scattered up and down the country well equipped and a great number of foot well appointed. He has employed one Peter McKoul, an old trooper, to list men for the Pretender. From Angus and Mearns we hear that the Earl Marischal is fitting up Dunottar for a garrison, and is already said to have a good Magazine of arms and Ammunitions. Also that he has bought up and dyed great parcels of cloath for soldiers cloathes. This is reported by those who sold the Cloath and spoke with the man who dyed it. That the Earl Marischal, Viscount Arbuthnot and others have frequent meetings in the night time at the Earl of Southesk's house, that the like meetings are kept at the laird of Powry's house, where also Ogilvie of Boyn is said to be, against whom there was a proclamation emitted in 1708." (*S.P.* 54, 7, 40.)

King George was proclaimed in Edinburgh on Thursday, 4th August, at 8 a.m., the orders having been received on Wednesday, the 3rd, about 12 p.m. The proclamation stated that "it hath pleased God to call to His mercy our late Sovereign, Lady Anne, of blessed memory, by whose decease the Imperial crowns of Great Britain, France, and Ireland are solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince, George Elector of Brunswick, Luneberg, etc." It was signed

by one hundred and twenty-one members of the council and the nobility, beginning with the Earl of Ilay (brother of the Duke of Argyll), Lord Justice General, and the Lord Provost and General Wightman.

The Jacobite party meanwhile daily expected James to land at Leith with a foreign force, and was correspondingly disappointed.

As a measure of precaution the Duke of Gordon was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle ; he remained there, and subsequently in his house in the Citadel of Leith, until his death on December 7, 1716.<sup>1</sup> Numbers of suspected persons in England, particularly in the south and west, were at once "taken up" and imprisoned.

That the friends of the Government in the north-east of Scotland were also fully aware of the Jacobite sympathies of most of their neighbours is shown by the following letter to Lord Townshend, now in the Record Office.

*Sir Peter Frazer of Durris to the Lord Justice Clerk.*

(Durris is in Kincardineshire, close to the borders of Aberdeenshire.)

"Aug. 8, 1715.

"MY LORD,

I presume to give you the trouble to let you know that the situation of his Majesty's friends and servants is in a very bad condition in this part of Britain, and if speedy relief does not come we may expect the utmost severity from the cruel temper and despair of the opposite party who breathes for nothing but our destruction and undoing.

I cannot express to your Lordship the Insolence of one party and the Consternation of the other. We hear of nothing but distributing commissions, receiving of arms and Linnen

<sup>1</sup> Others were nominally confined to their own houses, but this precaution proved unavailing.

cloaths making for the Regiments . . . I hope your Lordship will press the sending of forces to North Britain as soon as possible or the country is entirely lost and what influence that may have upon our neighbour nation is not hard to guess. For my part, who am much in their view and a speckled bird, I hardly know how to turn myself—however I am resolved to suffer all Extremity rather than in the least depart from my duty . . . I am already told and that to my face that in case I do not concur with them in their intended insurrection my house is to be burnt and all my tenants plundered. I rely upon Providence and a loyal Parliament to render their designs ineffectual, and hope that God will yet show another miracle in the Protestant Cause.

I am, etc.

PETER FRAISER."

Sir Peter Fraser was uncle to the Marquis of Huntly's wife,<sup>1</sup> and it was to his house that Huntly was stealing away, according to a letter in the Record Office, when Mar was about to raise the Standard. Huntly had hoped to avoid declaring himself a Jacobite for a little while longer, but was recalled by an express from Mar which he could not disregard without declaring himself too plainly on the other side.

On the 8th August, when Mar landed, expresses had been sent to the Earl of Nithsdale, Viscount Kenmure and others of their friends in the South Country, but according to their own accounts they did *not* attend Mar's meeting on August 27th.

Nithsdale stated, at his trial, that he was one of the last to "come out," with only four of his servants; according to Rae he joined the forces of Lord Kenmure at Langholm on October 30th, in time, at any rate, to march into England.

<sup>1</sup> Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, whose mother was Carey Fraser, daughter of Sir Alexander, first baronet of Durris; through this relationship the estate of Durris came into the hands of the fourth Duke of Gordon.



The earliest news of the Rising, coming from the North, is contained in *The News Letters of 1715-16*.<sup>1</sup>

*Extract from a Letter, August 28, 1715*

"We have very good advice from Mr. Strawhan of Glenkindie<sup>2</sup> that all is in motion toward an open revolt in the North, and certainly Perth will be a station they will effect to surprise as soon as any, it commands and can lay under contribution three or 4 shires at best in the Lowlands."

Later information about the same man is given in the extract from a letter from St. Ringans, November 9, 1715 :

"We had very good company at diner, one Glenkindy,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by A. Francis Steuart. Printed from original papers in the possession of C. E. S. Chambers, Edinburgh. Published W. and R. Chambers, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Strachan of Glenkindie was taken prisoner at Sheriffmuir ; later he was very active in disarming the country. He died at Aberdeen, January 2, 1726, "not regretted by any person. If he had lived longer, the gentry in the country was to pursue him for taking souns of money from them for protections."—Colonel Allardyce's *The Strachans of Glenkindie*.

Nathaniel Forbes, writing to the Earl of Mar in Paris, April 22, 1716, had also alluded to these activities, "Glenkindy, whom you had prisoner, is now loose and is plaguing the country there."

<sup>3</sup> Glenkindie's petition to George I. says that "How soon he came south he gave a faithfull account of all his procedure and thereafter waited of his Grace the Duke of Argyle at Edinburgh and Stirling and continued till the battle of Dumblain where he had the misfortune to fall into the enemies' hands and by them was thrown into a Dungeon within the prison of Dundee where common malefactors are ordenarly keepit. In which place he lay for three moneths and one half and thereafter when the Pretender made his Runn from Perth and carried along with the rest of the Prisoners to Montross where he was Incarcerat for three days and obleg'd to begg his bread over the windows, from which place he was carried northward to Stonehive being still obleged to travell on foot. And then he along with two others broke jayle, being afraid to be carried to the Isles where they proposed to have taken him. How soon he got rid of them he came to the Duke of Argile at Stonehive and waited off him to Aberdeen, at which place he was pleased to Employ him to go to the Highlands along with General Monteeis in order to settle some Garisons their and to disarm all the Rebells they could meet with in Mar."—*Ibid*.

He was afterwards knighted by George I.

his name is Strachan, was lodged in the roume. He was a man of good fortune, a refugee from Mar.<sup>1</sup> He told that he knew the first motions of this rebellion and communicat it to the Government quhen it might have been prevented. He had the offer of a cornell's commission from Mar, but still excused himself from being at any conference with the re-belliows Earle but when he cowld not without danger absent longer he came off. He is blyth and franck, lives in good hope and takes a glass of wine on luck's head."

Also in a letter "Intelligence from the North." (S.P. 54, 8, 30):

"It is informed that several of Mars own vassals, such as Glenkindy, ffinzean, etc., have refused to joyn the sd. Earl against the Government, and have gone off from their houses, notwithstanding of his many great and repeated promises and threatenings, and that the said Earl is in hopes to gain some if not all of them by reason of the slackness of the Government."

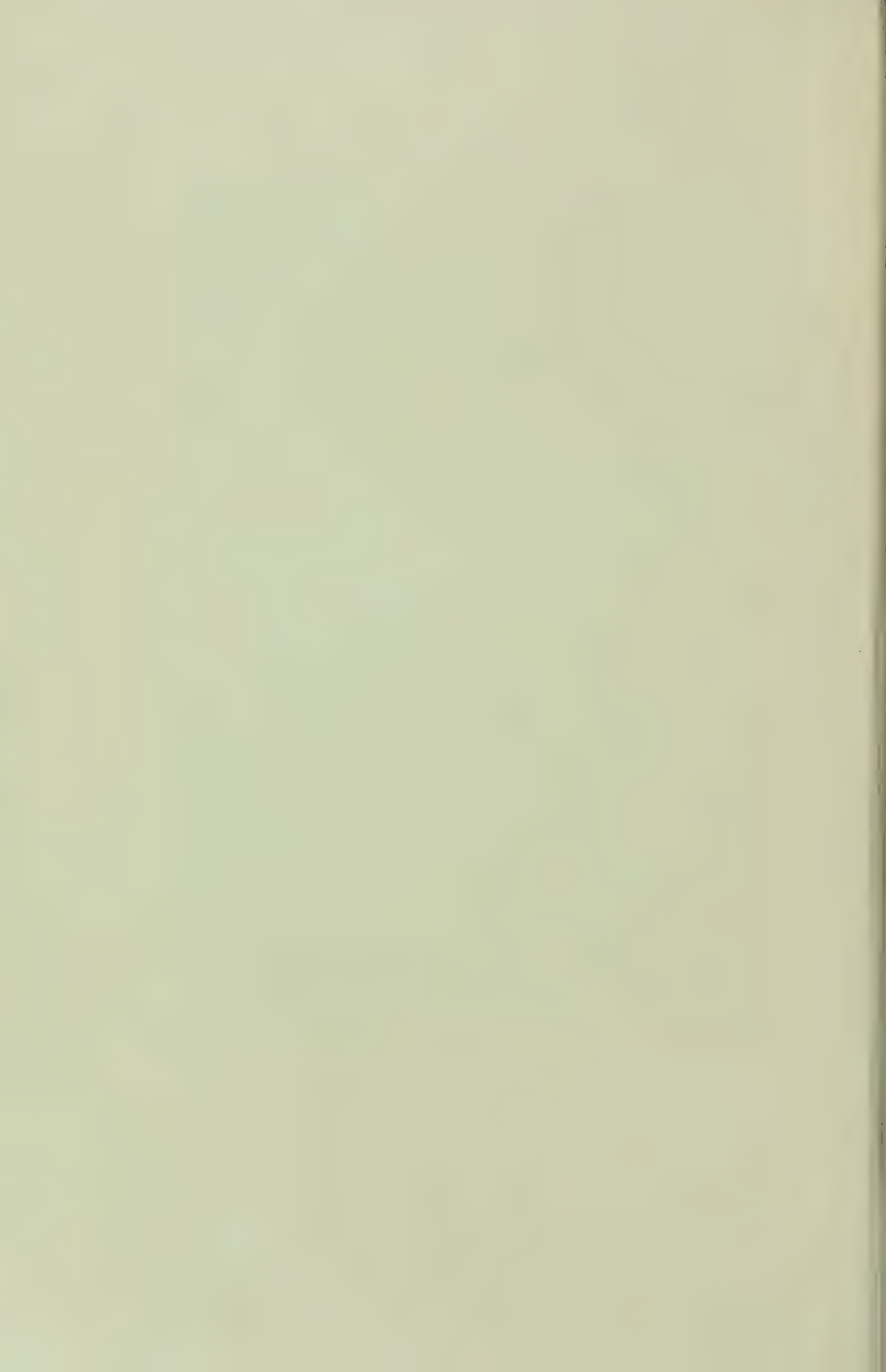
<sup>1</sup> i.e. The district on Deeside of that name.



*From an engraving in the British Museum.*

JOHN, EARL OF MAR.





## CHAPTER IV

### THE RAISING OF THE STANDARD

ON August 1st, as already indicated, the Earl of Mar, ex-Secretary of State for Scotland, attended a levée held by George of Hanover, and was markedly repulsed. The next day he embarked in disguise on a collier bound for Newcastle, accompanied by General George Hamilton, according to some accounts by John Hay, his young brother-in-law,<sup>1</sup> and by two servants, and having transhipped at Newcastle, landed at Elie, in Fife, and made his way to his own country of Deeside. (For further personal details see the account of the Earl of Mar, page 189.)

His exact movements after this are a little difficult to follow—the many letters from informers, now among the State Papers, being sometimes contradictory, but show how he was watched.

He himself wrote a letter from Braemar on 20th August to his brother, Lord Grange, obviously as a blind, and with intent that Grange should make the letter public in Edinburgh. In it he says that he “has given the Government no cause to suspect him, that he only left London to avoid being taken up, and is now living peaceable.”<sup>2</sup> (*S.P.* 54, 7, 68.) This was written on the very day on which the Earl Marischal, Lords

<sup>1</sup> Ebenezer Whittel, Mar's valet, who gave evidence before Sir George Warrender, Provost of Edinburgh, on September 25, 1715, stated that John Hay only joined Mar in Scotland at Craigiehall, and this was very probably the case, though various authorities (including Rae) give his name as being with Mar from the outset, in London. He was only twenty-four years of age.

<sup>2</sup> This deliberate lie seems not hitherto to have been published. See page 191.

(4,250)

Erroll, Nairn, Strathallan, and several others joined him. The letter was duly shown to Sir Adam Cockburn, who expressed a desire to summon Mar to Edinburgh on August 23rd, where he could have been placed in the Castle with Kinnoull, Deskford, and other suspects, but quite realized that no party of troops sent from Edinburgh could possibly take him in his own country, and added "that it looks as if Mar said to the Government, 'Willie-Willie Wastle, I'm in my Castle!'" (S.P. 54, 7, 62.) The humorous comments of the Lord Justice Clerk form one of the charms of these State Papers.

At the same time General Whetham, who had failed to "bring in" Traquair and many others of the Jacobite noblemen summoned to Edinburgh, suggests that they shall now be "sighted" (cited) by a herald, as likely to have a better effect.

On August 23rd an informer writes that Mar was at Ashentillie, and went to Braemar on Sunday last, 21st August, and with him were two gentlemen who spoke with the English dialect.<sup>1</sup> (S.P. 54, 7, 67.) The Earl Marischal (with Erroll and others quoted above) "was with the Earl of Mar, Saturday night, and Marquises of Huntly and Tulliebardine, Strowan-Robertson,<sup>2</sup> and several others daily expected."

Colonel John Hay's servants reported that "with the Earl of Mar is 300 of the Noblemen and Gentry."

On August 24th announcement is made of a camp at Braemar, and next day Sir James Steuart, the Solicitor-General, writes that there was "a General meeting of the Clans on Monday last." (S.P. 54, 7, 71.) (That was two days after the date of Mar's letter stating that he was living peaceably.) Sir James was, apparently, mistaken in his date, as on Saturday, the 27th, was held the great meeting, or "Tinchal," in which, according to some accounts, as many as 800 persons of all ranks took part, and actually did hunt

<sup>1</sup> Probably Hamilton and Hay.

<sup>2</sup> The ardent Jacobite, who had been "out" with Dundee and in his old age joined Prince Charles in 1745.

round by Glen Cluny and back to the Glen of Quoich. At this latter point is still to be seen a large cup in the rock in the middle of the river, now perforated at the bottom but then entire—still called either Mar's or the Devil's Punch Bowl, in which, tradition says, punch was brewed with several ankers of whisky, several of boiling water, and a quantity of honey ; and success was drunk to the Rising.

From there Mar went to Kildrummy, from whence he dated letters and proclamations, so he must have stayed in the neighbourhood, though his own Castle of Kildrummy—burnt in 1688—was not habitable.

He also went to Corgarff Castle, where he obtained some much-needed ammunition.

On August 29th the Provost of Aberdeen writes officially to tell the Lord Justice Clerk that “on Saturday last, the 27th, the Earl of Mar came to Braemar. There are come to him the Earl of Aboyne (that is John, the 3rd Earl, a boy of about 14 or 15), Auchterhouse (Aboyne's maternal uncle, Patrick Lyon), Lord Nairn, Lord Drummond, and Lord Tulliebardine—Huntly was to arrive Saturday night (August 27th), Borlum MacIntosh is come, and they assure the Earl the rest of the Clan will be there in a few days.”

The same day on which this letter was written Mar went from Invercauld to Strathdon, and this was the occasion when he and half a dozen of his prominent supporters “all lodged in the house of John, brother to Skellater” (the famous “Black Jock”<sup>1</sup>). On Tuesday, the 30th, the party proceeded to Glenbucket, “and were met by nearly 200 men in arms. The Earl of Southesk came to them and the Tutor of Aboyne.” (John Gordon, who was afterwards to say he was not a Jacobite. Auchterhouse, the other tutor (see above), had joined Mar already.)

The views of the Government officials on these comings and goings of Mar and his friends are reflected in the letters

<sup>1</sup> In the house of Inverernan.



of Adam Cockburn, the Lord Justice Clerk, who writes on Thursday, September 1st :

“ Our last advices from the North give us some hopes of the heads of the clans not being all at one among themselves as to their measures . . . some are for drawing together immediately—others for delaying till they have the certainty of the Pretender’s being landed. I expect very soon the result of a meeting Tewsday between Marquis Huntly and Earl Mar. ’Tis reported the former is not so forward since the latter came into the country — whether the latter’s having the chief direction, as it is said he has, gives any discontent, I know not. A few days will clear the matter.”<sup>1</sup>

Huntly’s discontent that another than himself was chosen to lead a Rising which began in his own corner of Scotland had probably something to do with his subsequent abandonment of the Cause, and may be compared to the part played by his forbears, Lord Aboyne and Lord Lewis Gordon, in deserting Montrose in 1645.<sup>2</sup>

Mar offered the leadership of the Rising to the Duke of Atholl, who at heart a Whig, somewhat haughtily refused, since the King himself had not made the offer. This is alleged to have been what Mar desired, and he himself remained at the head of affairs.

On Friday, September 2nd, they all returned to Aboyne, and here took place, on Saturday, 3rd, what is sometimes known in history as “ Mar’s hunting party ”—a title given to it to disguise its warlike significance, though the name was more properly applied to the meeting of August 27th. There were present on this occasion only the leaders, or (as an Aberdeen informer states) “ the nobility that was at Aboyne was Earls and Lords Southesk, Strathmore, Aboyne, Tullicbardine,

<sup>1</sup> S.P. 54, 8, 13. Another informer says “ the Marquis of Huntly came to Strathdon upon Tuesday last (August 30, 1715), but refuses to raise any of his men under any subject’s command and returned home.”

<sup>2</sup> The Lord Lewis Gordon of “ the 1745 ” was a whole-hearted enthusiast.

Nairn, Drummond, and Lord John Drummond. There was no rendezvous at Aboyne"—i.e. no "gathering of the Clans."

The same informer (or another one) announces that Earl Marischal came for the meeting on the 3rd, and Mar's own account (see page 44), which gives categorically ten names, says he was present. All these letters from informers are among the State Papers (*S.P.* 54, 7). Great preparations were made at Braemar in the week which began on Sunday, 4th of September, and the date of the raising of the Standard was well known—of that there is no doubt—it was Tuesday, September 6th.

As to the persons actually present at these meetings, Rae gives the list of those attending the great gathering on August 27th, as below, but himself "doubts if some of them were there." The south-country lords, such as Nithsdale, Kenmure, Wintoun, and possibly Traquair, were not present.<sup>1</sup>

Chambers and others also state that "Mar's hunting party" on the Saturday was attended by "the Marquisses of Huntly and Tulliebardine, the Earl Marischal, and the Earls of Erroll, Nithsdale, Traquair, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, and Linlithgow; Viscounts Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stormont; Lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan and Ogilvy, and 28 gentlemen, amongst whom were General Hamilton, General Gordon, Campbell of Glendaruel (who represented the aged Lord Breadalbane), Glengarry, Auchterhouse, Auldbar, etc., and others from the Clans." After this meeting the majority of the participants went home to collect their followers, and some, like Erroll, Traquair and Stormont, took no further part in the Rising. The meeting at Aboyne on September 3rd was very much smaller, consisting only of

<sup>1</sup> On February 22, 1719, James Edgar, so long the faithful secretary to James and his son, writing to James Murray, says, "My Lord Duke (Mar) knows that I was amongst the first, if not the very first, that joined him in Braemar," but he was not of sufficient importance to be mentioned in contemporary lists.

those who were really active, and with whom Mar consulted as to the plan of the Rising. They were only eleven in all, whose names are given by Mar himself (see page 44), though some say that Alexander Maitland, maternal uncle of Southesk, was also present at this council.

On September 3rd another informer writes : " The Lord Huntly was on his journey to Edinburgh, and was to go from that to London, he was brought back from Sir Peter Frazier (Durriss) by an express from my Lord Mar to keep their meeting," that is the first gathering on August 27th ; he was also present at the somewhat exclusive council at Aboyne on September 3rd, to which it is chronicled in one letter that Invercauld and Abergeldie, though there at the time, " were not admitted to council " in view of the doubtfulness of their adherence, but " guards were placed upon them."

In this connection, George Drummond (afterwards Provost of Edinburgh) wrote to Lord Polwarth : " Upon Friday last the Lairds of Invercauld and Abergeldie deserted and went off from the Earl of Mar, having refused to go along with him to the hazarding of their lives and fortunes, upon which his Lordship threatened to burn Invercauld's house." (*Marchmont MSS.*)

The Friday mentioned, not otherwise particularized, was no doubt Friday, August 26th, the day before the hunting party, and the letter goes on to say, " The Earl, after finding that Invercauld had privately taken out his arms and what ammunition he had in his house of Invercauld, where his Lordship is staying, seized the Laird's officer who carried it off and threatened to hang him, but the guard let him slip through their fingers."

With regard to this so-called " hunting party " assembled at Braemar on Saturday, August 27, 1715, it is curious to find that a year previously, in his capacity of Secretary of State for Scotland, Mar had written to Lord Sutherland (John, fifteenth Earl—a prominent Whig) :

“ Whitehall, 31 Aug. 1714.

“ MY LORD,

I am directed by the Lords Justices to acquaint your Lordship and others in the Highlands that it is their Lordships' pleasure that you do not assemble together any numbers of people upon the account of hunting or under any other pretence whatsoever ; which I make no doubt but your Lordship will punctually observe. I am, with very great respect my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,  
MAR.”

(*Sutherland Charter Chest.*)

“ Their Lordships' pleasure ” apparently became a dead letter when Jacobite matters were in question.

Lord Justice Clerk Cockburn writes at this stage, that he is informed that “ there were very few men present at the meeting at Strathdon, it being time of harvest, that at Aboyne there was no rendezvous, but at the raising of the standard on September 6th there were about 600 men present. It was told by several that the gilt ball fell off the top of the standard at the moment of raising.” (S.P. 54, 8, 31.)

The Standard, said to have been made by Lady Mar, the newly married second wife of her lord, was of blue silk, having on one side the Scottish arms in gold, on the other the thistle, and the motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*, and beneath, “ No union.” Two pendants of white ribbon bore the words, one, “ for our wronged king and oppressed country,” and the other, “ for ourselves and liberties.”

Other writers say that this elaborate description, given by Struthers and other writers, refers rather to the Standard raised later by Lord Kenmure in the south of Scotland. Mar's valet, already quoted, who was present at Braemar, only mentions a J. R. and figures (3 and 8) on the Standard raised there. The unreliability of evidence (even contemporary) is shown by the fact that some writers say only some sixty per-



sons were present at the raising of the Standard. Others put the number at five or even eight hundred.

The exact spot at which the Standard was raised on September 6th is commemorated by a brass plate on the wall of the Invercauld Arms Hotel.

On this occasion Mar addressed his supporters at length ; he was a wonderfully persuasive speaker. He expressed sorrow for his own part in furthering the Union, and set forth all the mischief which had accrued to Scotland during the year of Hanoverian rule. He announced to them his instructions from James to raise forces for the Cause, and told them at the same time that he had been entrusted by his master with sufficient money for the campaign. He had £1,000 with him, and said more was to be sent immediately, also arms, ammunition, and stores, £100,000 having been collected in France.<sup>1</sup> He gave them all copies of the Chevalier's Manifesto and Commission to himself (though no one saw the original ! <sup>2</sup>) They then dispersed, promising to raise their several clans and dependents. It was mortifying to Mar that his own tenants should have been somewhat backward in taking up arms. As a leader he inspired but little confidence, either in friends or servants ; some of his own vassals had definitely refused to join him. On the 7th of September he issued a letter to the gentlemen of Perthshire, announcing to them his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in Scotland, and two days later a declaration to the gentlemen of his own county (see page 44). On the 9th also he wrote the famous letter to Black Jock Forbes of Inverernan, his baillie at Kildrummy.

This letter, though so well known, must be here given. It was universally quoted at the time, partly to show that Mar, although claiming to be Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, had somewhat limited authority over his own vassals.

<sup>1</sup> Besides the money promised from Spain. See pages 15 and 144.

<sup>2</sup> See pages 94 and 192.

There is even a copy and translation of it among the archives of the French Foreign Office, with a note to the effect that Mar shows little dignity in his correspondence with his "baillie," whose position in French eyes seemed to be that of a superior servant, and not, as was the case, one of the Earl's principal tenants and most valued supporters.<sup>1</sup>

"Invercauld,  
September 9th, 1715, at night.

"JOCKE,

Ye was in the right not to come with the 100 men ye sent up to-night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their King and Country's account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the gentlemen of our neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men only should be refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these twenty-six years? <sup>2</sup> And now, when it is come, and the king and country's cause is at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish? I have used gentle means too long, and so shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you enclosed an order for the lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals; if they give ready obedience, it will make some amends, and if not, ye may tell them from me that it will not be in my power to save them (though I were willing) from being treated as enemies by those who are ready soon to join me, and they may depend on it, that I will be the first to propose and order

<sup>1</sup> Both the letter and the proclamation were intercepted by the Government, which is the reason they are so widely known. They were printed in the London journals of the time, *vide* Clarendon Historical Society's reprints, 1882.

A letter from Mar to Huntly of 9th September was also "lost," and Mar fears this may have awkward consequences.—*Vide Stuart Correspondence*.

<sup>2</sup> Since Killiecrankie, in 1689.

their being so. Particularly let my own tenants in Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. And they may believe this only a threat but, by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution—let my loss be what it will. You are to tell the gentlemen that I'll expect them in their best accoutrements, on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your king and country.

Your assured friend and servant,

MAR."

The response to this letter was fairly good,<sup>1</sup> but nothing like what followed similar orders by Lochiel, Glenlyon, and others at a later date.

*The Earl of Mar's Declaration, September 9, 1715*

"Our rightful and natural King James the 8th, by the Grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppressions having been pleased to intrust us with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces in this his ancient kingdom of Scotland, and some of his faithful subjects and servants met at Aboyne—viz. The Lord Huntley, the Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Mareschal, the Earl of Southesk, Glengary from the Clans, Glendarule from the Earl of Broadalbaine and Gentlemen of Argyllshire, Mr. Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, the Laird of Auldbar,<sup>2</sup> Licut. General George Hamilton, Major General Gordon and myself, having taken into consideration his Majesty's last and late orders to us, find that as this is now the Time that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him, so it seems to us absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service and

<sup>1</sup> About three hundred men appearing, and, later, one hundred from Braemar, who were put under the command of Inverey.

<sup>2</sup> Nephew of the great Dundee.

## THE RAISING OF THE STANDARD

the relieving of our native country from all its hardships, that all his faithful and loving subjects and Lovers of their country should, with all possible speed, put themselves into arms.

These are therefore in his Majesty's name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforesaid, and by the King's special order to me there anent, to require and impower you forthwith to raise your fencible men with their best arms, and you are immediately to march them to join me and some others of the King's forces at the Inver of Braemar on Monday next, in order to proceed on our march to attend the King's standard with his other forces.

The King intending that his Forces shall be paid from the time of their setting out, he expects as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly and commit no plundering nor other Disorders upon the highest penalties and his displeasure, which is expected you'll see observed.

Now is the Time for all good men to show their zeal for his Majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned, and the relief of our Native Country from oppression and a foreign yolk too heavy for us and our posterity to bear, and to endeavour the restoring not only of our rightful and native King, but also our country to its ancient free and independent Constitution under him whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations.

In so honourable good and just a cause we cannot doubt of the Assistance direction and blessing of Almighty God who has so often rescued the Royal Family of Stuart and our own country from sinking under oppression. Your punctual Observance of these orders is expected, for the doing of all which this shall be to you and all you employ in the execution of them a sufficient warrant.

MAR.

Given at Braemar the 9th September 1715. To the Baillie and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Lordship of Kildrummie."



A few days later another very long and still more grandiloquent address to the nation was issued and printed by Robert Freebairn<sup>1</sup> in Edinburgh. It was entitled :

“Manifesto by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others who dutifully appear at this time, in asserting the undoubted Right of their lawful Sovereign James the Eighth by the Grace of God, etc., and for relieving this his ancient Kingdom from the oppression and grievances it lies under.”

It begins by stating that “His Majesty’s right of blood to the Crowns of these realms is undoubted . . . by the laws of God, by the ancient constitutions and by the positive unrepealed laws of the land.” It sets forth the miseries which have followed “the late unhappy Union” and how the sacred Laws of both countries have been broken into by a “packed up Assembly which calls itself a British parliament (which) have [*sic*] so far as in them lies, inhumanly murdered their own and our Sovereign by promising a great sum of money as the reward of so execrable a crime, and also empowered a foreign prince (who, notwithstanding his expectation of the crown for 15 years<sup>2</sup> is still unacquainted with our manners, customs, and language<sup>3</sup>) to make an absolute conquest, if not timely prevented, of the three Kingdoms, by investing himself with an unlimited power, not only of raising unnecessary Forces at home, but also of calling in Foreign troops ready to promote his uncontrollable designs.”

It goes on to show how the liberty of all subjects in their persons, goods, and religion will be safeguarded by the rightful King, and ends by stating that “we hereby faithfully promise and engage that every officer who joins us in our King and country’s Cause shall not only enjoy the same post he now

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes called Fairbairn. He was appointed King’s Printer in Scotland, and was afterwards at James’s court in Rome, many letters from him being among the Stuart Papers at Windsor (unpublished).

<sup>2</sup> Really fourteen. The Act of Settlement of the Crown on Sophia and her heirs was passed in 1701.

<sup>3</sup> This, of course, was strictly true.

does, but shall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and station, and the number of men he brings with him to us. And each foot soldier so joining us shall have 20 shillings sterling, and each trooper or dragoon who brings horse and accoutrements along with him, 12 pounds sterling gratuity, besides their pay."

Funds at this moment appeared unlimited, and no one concerned himself as to whence more was to come.

A letter (hitherto unpublished) to Lord Pittsligo, now at Fettercairn, shows the Earl of Mar in his brief moment of success. It was written, in fact, only ten days after the raising of the Standard.

"Kirkmichael in Stratharle,  
friday night, Sept. 16, 1715.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I was very glade of yrs. which I had this forenoon and also that Craig was the bearer who can give you a particular account of what has past here to-day, (*i.e.* the raising of the Standard afresh) wh. I know will be agreable to your Lop. and all honest men. This will I hope give life to the faint hearts in other places. The D. of Athole we hear has drawn his men together wh. will save us some trouble—he intended to stope my march, but his men have sent word that they will all join us to-morrow and leave his Grace. Lord Tullibardine and his brother Lord George are come to us already and some other of the gentlemen and, just as I am writing, we have ane express sent us that 300 of the D. of Athole's men, hearing of Ld. Tullibardine's coming here have left him immediately and they have sent to Lord T. since he came here to tell him they wait his commands where to join us and before to-morrow night we are sure of all the men he has. Now we have another express the time I'm writing from Coll. John Hay at Perth, telling that he and some other gentlemen thereabouts have taken possession of that town (as they were ordered) for the King and are to proclaim him

to-morrow and to order a new election of the Town magistrates.<sup>1</sup> I hope it will not be long e'er we be at Edinburgh and soon after that in England where I have reason to think the King will be before us. . . . I need tell no more but that I have the King's Commission wh. I was not allowed to tell before, and I have not done one thing since I came to Scotland but what I did by the King's orders and instructions.<sup>2</sup>

Lord Huntly has acted that honourable steddly parte that is becomcing of himself and the Loiall family he is come of, his men are making haste to us as are all the other highlanders where they are ordered,<sup>3</sup> which I know by particular letters from them all, since I sent them their orders. Ther's money and credit for us at Edinburgh, and I hope to furnish all who join me wt. provisions till they come their.

I shall be glad, my dear Lord, how soon you can come up to us. That I may not detain the Bearer by writeing, pray send him immediately on to Ld. Marischall wt. this,

I am, my dear Lord, with all affection and sincerity,

Yr. etc.

MAR."

(Lord Mar and Lord Pitsligo were first cousins, *i.e.* Pitsligo's mother was Lady Sophia Erskine, Mar's aunt.)

<sup>1</sup> This proves that Perth was taken on the 14th, and not the 18th September, as sometimes given.

<sup>2</sup> Here he was going a little beyond the truth.

<sup>3</sup> By other letters it is seen how he complained of Huntly's dilatoriness. Shortly after the raising of the Standard in Aberdeenshire, ardent Jacobites in other parts of the country began to gather together. The Lord Justice Clerk reported to Argyll "a great rendezvous of rebels at Pinkie, near Edinburgh, under the Earl of Wintoun on Sept. 16." (*S.P.* 54, 8, 71.) He had also previously complained of "the Jacobite tendencies of the gentry of Dumfries." (*S.P.* 54, 7, 59.)

## CHAPTER V

### THE CAMP AT PERTH

AFTER the raising of the Standard, Mar, at the head of his own followers, with those of Aboyne, Inverey, and many others, began his march southward. From Braemar he went by the Spittal of Glenshee, and at Kirkmichael made another proclamation of King James III. and VIII. (Here he was joined by 300 horse under Lords Drummond and Linlithgow, and 500 foot under Tullibardine.) Thence he proceeded by Moulin and Logierait to Dunkeld, and so to Perth, which, as already seen, had been taken possession of on September 14th by Colonel Hay, brother of Lord Kinnoull, and brother of Mar's first wife, under the following circumstances :

"The Earl of Mar, having intelligence that the Royal Army was encamped at Stirling to secure that Pass for King George, as the Earl of Rothes with the Gentlemen of Fife, who were in arms for his Majesty's service were advancing with the Country Troops to the number of 500 men, to take possession of Perth, which commands the passage over the Tay—he instantly resolved to prevent them, and thereupon detached Mr. John Hay with 200 horse to take possession of that place ; which they did effectually ; the 150 Highlanders of the Duke of Athole's men who had been sent in a few days before, siding with the Jacobite party." As Rae also says, "the surprising of Perth was of singular advantage to the Earl of Mar and his party and gave him command of the whole of the East Coast of Scotland North of the Tay, and



Fife also shortly fell into his hands. His party also in all parts made great preparations to draw together and join him, so that they began to have the face of a formidable army."

A letter from Mar from his camp at Logierait to the Earl Marischal, of date September 28th, was captured by Argyll when Perth was abandoned, January 31, 1716. Mar says, "I had a messenger from the King last night. He himself with the Duke of Berwick is coming at once. Ormonde and Bolingbroke are going to England. All friends are to rise and wait for nothing (the whole of this was, of course, *untrue*). How soon my friends joyn me, I am to begin my march to Dunkeld. I hope to be joyned by Seaforth, also by Huntly and yourself before I get to Perth." (*Stuart Papers*.)

It was true that twelve ships had been procured in France, and were lying in Havre de Grace and other French ports, loaded with 12,000 muskets, 18,000 swords, 4,000 barrels of powder, 12 brass field pieces and equivalent ammunition, and with nearly 2,000 men on board. Unfortunately, since the preparation of this flotilla and the departure of James Murray with the news of it from St. Germain, the worst of blows to the Jacobite cause had fallen. Louis XIV. had died. The Earl of Stair, the English ambassador, made urgent representations to the Regent Orléans as to these warlike preparations, which were obviously aimed at his master, King George, and insisted on the large vessels being unloaded.<sup>1</sup> Some of the smaller ships did eventually get across to Scotland.

The Highlanders meantime were rising to join the forces of King James. The Clan Mackintosh, under the famous Mackintosh of Borlum (uncle to the chief, who was a minor), took Inverness, where as Provost William Duff wrote at the time, "we are in no capacity to offer the least opposition,"<sup>2</sup> though he himself and his son, Alexander, both ex-provosts, certainly connived at the entry of the Highlanders.

<sup>1</sup> See page 10. Admiral Byng was not, however, allowed to search the ships.

<sup>2</sup> S.P. 54, 8, 57.





## THE CAMP AT PERTH

Mar now established himself in Perth, and sent to Dundee and Dunnottar for a few cannon. From Montrose he requisitioned lead for bullets, and gunpowder, of which he never at any time had enough.

He had, as yet, little to fear from the Government forces, for in the early stages of the Rising the authorities at St. James's conceived the idea that the operations in Scotland were only a feint, and sent very few troops there, concentrating on the south and west of England, where they believed the greater danger to be. Had the plans of Ormonde and the promises of the late French king materialized, they might have been right !

Argyll, who left London shortly after Mar, to take charge of the small number of Government troops in Scotland and the additional cavalry allowed him, wrote to Lord Townshend from "Burrowbridge" on his way north, 12th September 1715 :

"I am sorry to be obliged to complain to your Lordship that Mr. Carpenter's dragoons arrive only this day at York and as I am informed, Mr. King's regt. has been as slow in its motions, so that if the Enemy think fitt to act with the vigour that men of common sense would, in their circumstances, the handful of Troops now in Scotland may be beat out of the country before this small reinforcement can joyn them." (*S.P.* 54, 8, 49.)

No bitterer indictment of a general by his foe could well be imagined than this of Mar by Argyll.

The latter had at first only a force of four foot regiments and 500 dragoons. After the attempt on Edinburgh Castle, however, he was reinforced by the Scots Greys, two foot regiments from England, and a large contingent of militia, and a camp was formed at Stirling to protect the Forth,<sup>1</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> From this camp Argyll was unable to move his small force north until early November, for had he gone beyond the protection of the guns of Stirling Castle, even so incompetent a general as Mar could hardly have failed, with superior numbers, to surround and destroy him.



then, as in the days of Montrose, and later in those of Prince Charles, was considered to "bridle the wild Highlandman."

On 13th September Argyll writes that he has 1,400 men, and will have shortly 1,750, "to oppose 10,000"! He reached Edinburgh the next day. On 24th September 1715 he writes to Lord Townshend again: "In case we should be so fortunate as to maintain a footing in this country some time longer, I beg that you would be so good as to procure positive orders. . . . I must end with insisting on considerable reinforcements, for without it, or a miracle, not only this country will be utterly destroyed but the rest of his Majesty's dominions put in the extremest danger."

And Adam Cockburn, the Lord Justice Clerk, on the same date, writes: "The army under Dundee was not near the number that have at present taken arms"<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.* against the Government).

Argyll again nervously expresses fears that he "does daily things he has no lawful power to do," and is reassured by the robust Lord John Hay, who says, "the law is a mere cobweb in time of rebellion."

On September 13th Mackintosh of Borlum proclaimed James at Inverness, and then marched south to join Mar. The Earl Marischal proclaimed him in the city of Aberdeen on September 20th, and raised all his vassals and followers in that county and Kincardine. Huntly did the same at Gordon Castle, and brought out his tenants; Lord Panmure at Brechin, Lord Ogilvy and Graham of Duntroon (the Jacobite Viscount Dundee) at Dundee made similar proclamations, and the two latter raised the county of Forfar; Lord Southesk made the proclamation at Montrose, and Lord Tullibardine at Dunkeld.

The Jacobite headquarters were definitely established at Perth, and the King proclaimed there by Colonel Balfour and Colonel Hay. Five hundred men of Athole, under the Mar-

<sup>1</sup> This point had also been noted by the French ambassador. See page 17.

quis of Tullibardine, marched into the town ; the aged Earl of Breadalbane, who had responded to the Government order to present himself at Edinburgh with an affidavit that he was too ill to travel, also appeared in support of the movement. (See page 25.)

By the end of September Mar had an army of between four and five thousand men, and received dispatches brought from Commercy by James Murray, second son to Lord Stormont, who arrived at Edinburgh incognito on September 28th, via London, he having gone to France in April, to announce that twelve ships with men, arms, and money were about to sail from France.<sup>1</sup> At this period Mar could easily have crushed the forces of Argyll, and made himself master of the whole south of Scotland, as he was of the north, and of the important county of Fife.<sup>2</sup> He was, however, unfortunately a great advocate of the "policy of waiting," quite the worst quality in one who had to command an army of Highlanders, whose strength always lay in rapid marches and sudden attacks. The great Montrose, given Mar's forces and opportunities, would have won Scotland for his master in three weeks. Whereas all that Mar did is neatly summarized by Struthers : "He spent a number of weeks in Perth, issuing

<sup>1</sup> But since Murray had left St. Germain the whole situation as regards the attitude of France had been changed by the death of the aged Louis XIV. (See page 9.) Murray returned safely to France, was with James at Avignon and Rome, and was created Earl of Dunbar.

<sup>2</sup> Argyll's own letter to Stanhope shows that he at least appreciated the situation :

"Camp at Sterling, 21 Sept. 1715.

"SIR,—I am extremely surprised that notwithstanding the advices you have had from hence, we have heard nothing either from Lord Townshend or you. And pardon me to say I am yet more surprised to find by a letter I yesterday received from London that his Majesty's Ministers still persist to think this matter a jest, and that we are in a condition to put a stop to it. Give me leave to say, Sir, that if all of us who have the honour to serve his Majesty here are not either knaves or cowards, we ought to be believed when we tell you that this country is in the extreme danger."

He adds that it will be a miracle if with about 1,600 men he can prevent the passage of the Fords of the Forth by 8 or 10 thousand. (S.P. 54, 8, 80.)

edicts which he had not the power fully to enforce, practising feints against an enemy not equal to his own army by nine-tenths, in order to cover a petty village warfare and fortifying a camp which the moment his antagonist was in sufficient force to attack, he behoved of necessity to abandon."

## CHAPTER VI

### THE ATTEMPT ON EDINBURGH CASTLE

TWO days after the raising of the Standard of King James III. and VIII. in Aberdeenshire, and in ignorance of this event,<sup>1</sup> a remarkable attempt, which very nearly succeeded, was made to surprise and capture the Castle of Edinburgh. Lord Drummond, MacGregor of Balhaldy, and Charles Forbes of Brux, were chiefly responsible ; the affair was certainly grossly mismanaged. Had it been successful it might well have changed the whole course of the campaign, and led to the return of George of Hanover to his Electorate.

In the Castle were stored nearly all the arms and ammunition belonging to the Government for Scotland, as well as an immense sum of money—the greater part of “the Equivalent” which had been sent to Scotland at the time of the Act of Union for the purpose of equalizing the burden of taxation.

The moral force, also, of success in such an enterprise would have been very great, and arrangements had been made to intimate it to Mar by the firing of guns, taken up throughout the country, till the news reached him.

The attempt, however, was frustrated by the accident of one of the Jacobites, Lieutenant Thomas Arthur,<sup>2</sup> communicating the matter to his brother, Dr. Arthur, and the wife of

<sup>1</sup> Showing, however, that the plans for a rising had been widely known and discussed.

<sup>2</sup> He was afterwards an officer with Mar in Perth, and later with James in France and Italy.



the latter, having from suspicion at his moodiness, surprised her husband's secret, sent an anonymous warning to the Lord Justice Clerk. Even this would, however, have been too late had the conspirators carried out their attack at the time fixed, as the Governor did not take it very seriously, for after doubling the guard <sup>1</sup> he went to bed ; but being overconfident, they celebrated their success prematurely by drinking in a tavern (as it was said, "powdering their hair"), were two hours late in making their attempt, and were in consequence surprised in the very moment of success ; besides which, the ladders they had with them were not long enough. Papers in the Public Record Office give a full account of the trial of the soldiers concerned. Only four Jacobite prisoners were taken. (See page 59.)

*Deposition of James Thomson and William Ainslie,<sup>2</sup> soldiers  
in the Castle*

"10th September 1715.

"James Thomson, Sentinell in the Castle of Edinburgh, declares that on Tuesday the 6th Inst. as he was going out of the Castle, he mett Ensign Thomas Arthur near to the Portcullis, after the Ensign had passed him, he turned again and called to him and said he wanted to speak with the declarant and trysted him to come down to the Ensign's house in the Canongate next day after he came off guard, but that same day he sent John Holland another sentinell to know if the declarant could come and speak to him at Two o'clock and

<sup>1</sup> For which he was later imprisoned in the Tolbooth. He was Lieut.-Col. Stuart, Deputy but acting Governor.

The Governor was General George Preston, who was temporarily absent. At this period he was a man of fifty-five, but he was still Governor in 1745, when eighty-five. He was then superseded by General Josiah Guest, who was three years younger, and the two old men together held out against Prince Charles Edward, who, it will be remembered, raised the blockade of the Castle to save the inhabitants of Edinburgh from the Castle guns.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards hanged at Carlisle (S.P. 54, 8, 53 and 35).

Accordingly the declarant and John Holland went down to him, but missing the Ensign at his own house they turned up the way and when they came to the head of Canongate they rencountered these with the Ensign who directed them to a house near the Cannie Cross and bid them stay there till he came to them. The Ensign accordingly came and desiring to speak with the declarant by himself he put John Holland out of the room and then he acquainted the Declarant with his design of surprising the Castle and would have the declarant engaged in it, and used many arguments to persuade him to come into it. At last he took out money to the value of 40 shillings which he put into the declarant's hand and desired to see him again the next day with J. Holland and bid them send down William Ainslie to him by ten of the clock. . . . William Ainslie said he had no inclination to go down, and that the Ensign had made him very good offers, viz. of a hundred guineas and Lieutenant's Commission—and that he could not come to him till the Guard changed at 10 o'clock, and the Ensign desired that both Wm. Ainslie and the defendant should meet him at 10 o'clock at a house in Weir's Land and accordingly they went down and found the Ensign there who carried Wm. Ainslie into a room by himself, and the Ensign told Declarant that John Holland and he were that night at 11 o'clock to be posted Sentry's the one at the Queen's Post, and the other at the Butts . . . that he must take the guard that night and change with the other corporal. After which there came a Gentleman in a stript night gown who shook hands with Wm. Ainslie, and after that another gentleman with a red coat and silver buttons without a cap on his head and his beard rough—a little after that there came in another gentleman with plain cloaths and a fair wigg, low of stature. After all these were come in Ensign Arthur repeated his arguments and told Wm. Ainslie here was the gentleman had been with the King, several Tymes pointing to the man in the Gown and that so soon as the Castle was taken a signal

was to be made from thence by the firing of so many great guns, which was to be a signal to their friends in the country to advise their friends in the north. . . . The Ensign then took out eight guineas and proffered it to Ainslie, telling him he might have more men in the Castle to byass with money. . . . Ainslie said he would not take it all, and taking up two guineas in gold and about 20 shillings in silver gave it back to the defendant taking the remainder himself. . . . They then took out some whipcord, and after measuring made it up in a Clue and the Gentleman in the red coat desired the declarant to buy some 2 or 3 hanks of the same Whipcord to add thereto . . . the use of the whip cord being for the declarant to let down over the wall with a piece of lead at the end of it to Ensign Arthur to fasten to the rope for hauling up the Ladder. . . . From a house where they took a drink they came straight to the Castle. Towards evening Declarant asked Wm. Ainslie if he had got the cord from the other corporal who answered the other Corporal refused to change but John Holland had managed the matter so he got himself placed sentry at the Queen's Post at 11 o'clock at night, and about a quarter of an hour thereafter the declarant went to the wall at the Sally port as he had concerted—and called over softly if they were there, and Ensign Arthur answered him again softly, "wee are not yet ready," but when they were ready they would draw the cord which he had let down. About that tyme, John Holland came and askt the declarant what they were doing and desired him to bid them make haste because the rounds would be on them immediately. A little after John Holland came to him again and desired him to let the ladder drop, for there was Lieut. Lindsay calling to him to fire if he heard the least noise and the declarant did let it drop and John Holland fired his piece. This is the truth upon which he makes oath."

A further note adds that the city guard on arrival found

only a "popish priest, with his trinkets," and "one Graham, a stabler lately come here, whom we imprisoned in the Tol-booth." Some say that a young page of the Duchess of Gordon was also taken, and one other man. (See page 56.)

Adam Cockburn's son says, "I shall not enter upon it, which way it was that my Father came to get his intelligence of this design."

Adam Cockburn himself says, in a letter to Lord Townshend: "I have enclosed a copy of the declaration. The Gentleman in the red coat is one Charles Forbes of Bruicks <sup>1</sup> (Brux) of Aberdeenshire—he was lately come from Bar le Duck before Earl Mar came hither and was not with his Lop. in Braemar. The gentleman in the night gown was one Mr. Pringle, a Roman Catholic."

The Lord Justice Clerk, writing on 9th September 1716, says that he feels sadly overworked, with all the business of the prisoners and those who had surrendered, "but the remembrance of this day twelve months supports my spirits, we saved the Castle."

That Mar wasted his opportunities is to be seen more clearly than anywhere else in the (unpublished) letters of the Whig general who was watching him. (See Chapter X.)

<sup>1</sup> Charles Forbes of Brux is described by the Master of Sinclair as "a little broken merchant," selected by Lord Drummond to be the manager of the attempt on the Castle of Edinburgh, and chiefly responsible for the failure of this attempt, since "when the firing from the wall happened, Mr. Forbes the ingineer had onlie advanced to the back of Bareford's Parks on the North side of the North Loch, with the rest of the ladders and could not have been up in time before the Sentry was relieved."

When Mar sent Forbes as a messenger to France later in the year, Sinclair again takes the opportunity to belittle him. "He made choice of one of his trustie Aide-de-camps, Charles Forbes a fellow who had been a peddling merchant and had been in prison for twentie pound, not long before our rising; the very same who was the ingineer at the Castle and had acquitted himself so well on that occasion that he was thought worthie of further trust."

Forbes was afterwards at the court in Rome, and became obnoxious to the King, who dismissed him. (Unpublished *Stuart Papers*.)



Argyll writes to Townshend from Stirling, 24th September 1715 (*S.P.* 54, 8, 89) :

"On the other side of this river, excepting our few friends in the North and those of my vassals in the West Highlands, they have a hundred to one at least in their interest and from behind us there are every day numbers of Horse composed of Gentlemen and their servants who go over to join their army, all extremely well armed, of which I never have any intelligence till they are passed, by reason of the people who are well wishers to the Government being so awed with the formidableness of the enemy that they are afraid to advertise me, and besides the Tract of ground through which the disaffected people behind us may pass is so very large that it is next to impossible to prevent any body from joining that has a mind to it.

"I received last night an Intelligence from one who was very positive of the truth of it, that the enemy proposed passing at the head of the river and to me it appears very probable because the roads from the head of the river to Glasgow are both mountainous and morassy and consequently in that passage they can be come at only by foot. So what to do in that case, I believe would puzzle the greatest officer in Europe. In short my lord I am not able to imagine how any living man can project to stop many thousands with about 1,600 unless there were a pass which the 1,600 could occupy. Which there is not an officer in this handfull of troops here with me will say, is to be found in this country. So that your Lordship must see that I labour under the greatest difficulties, faced with the very worst circumstances that it is possible for any living man to be in." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His brother, Lord Ilay, wrote to Lord Townshend, after the attempt on Edinburgh Castle, that the garrison there was "only of 100 men and 20 wanting—all in rags, no proper clothing and never more than one day's provision." He reinforced this inadequate defence with sixty of the Campbell militia, and writes :

"My brother will, I believe, do his duty with the few men he has. That

## THE ATTEMPT ON EDINBURGH CASTLE

But nothing was done by the strangely inert Jacobite general to take advantage of the circumstances so graphically described by his opponent.

is, he will defend the ground where he shall be, but he cannot be everywhere." Ilay himself returned to defend with success the Campbell country.

Argyll also complained of the shortage of arms and ammunition supplied to him, but says, "It is very sure we cannot expect them if the same are wanting in London," adding mildly that surely by this time the Department of Ordnance might have made provision for both. (*S.P.* 54, 8, 87.)

## CHAPTER VII

### THE EPISODES OF BURNTISLAND AND DUNFERMLINE

MEANWHILE, the Jacobite forces were increasing rapidly in numbers. Mar's own estimate of the men he had at Perth, *October 1715*, was as follows :

HORSE						
Huntly	.	.	.	.	.	400
Earl Marischal	.	.	.	.	.	180
Perthshire	.	.	.	.	.	70
Stirlingshire	.	.	.	.	.	77
Angus (Southesque)	.	.	.	.	.	100
Fifeshire (Sinclair)	.	.	.	.	.	90
						<u>917</u>

FOOT						
Huntly	.	.	.	.	.	1200
Lord G. Murray	.	.	.	.	.	230
Panmure	.	.	.	.	.	415
Lord Ogilvy	.	.	.	.	.	351
Struan	.	.	.	.	.	203
Inarrytie (Invernytie)	.	.	.	.	.	267
						<u>2666</u>

The "Clans" had not yet joined him.

The lack of necessary arms and ammunition which had at first hampered Mar in taking the offensive had been to a certain

extent overcome by the result of the Master of Sinclair's<sup>1</sup> capture at Burntisland of an English ship containing a large provision of munitions of war destined for the use of the Whig Earl of Sutherland in the north. They had only come from Edinburgh Castle, but the master of the ship, being a Burntisland man, had put in there to see his wife.

The account of this episode may be given partly in Sinclair's own words (*Memoirs of the Rising*<sup>2</sup>) :

"An old friend of mine and my familie's with whom we had long dealing, being a merchant, called me out to the South Inch of Pearch by six of the Clock of a Sunday morning (Oct. 2). He told me he had rid the whole night to let me know that there was a small ship in the harbour of Burntisland, loaded with arms and ammunition for the Earl of Sutherland in the North. I asked him if he knew anything of the number. He said they were at least three thousand. It is easie to see I was transported with the news."

Sinclair had the cause much at heart, and was most anxious to secure these arms, but curiously unwilling to ask Mar's leave to do so. He never got on with the Jacobite general. "But—on second thoughts, I resolved to go straight to him. I found him in bed and told him my story." Mar, as usual, shilly-shallied, and let Sinclair go away without any definite instructions, but sent for him again at eleven o'clock, when further indecisive conversation took place. Sinclair, however, had a very definite plan in his own head, and "after dinner," at a third interview, Mar gave him an order in writing, so that he might get to Burntisland before the flood tide at midnight, at which time his friend had told him the ship was to sail. Sinclair pointed out, with some truth, that there would be a certain risk "in the back coming," as the route would

<sup>1</sup> John, eldest son of Lord Sinclair.

<sup>2</sup> Long afterwards, in Rome, the King read these memoirs, and was very angry at much that Sinclair had said. He refused to receive him. *Vide* letter in the *Stuart Papers* at Windsor, May 12, 1722.



have to be within ten miles of Argyll's camp at Stirling, and besides the 80 horse of his own party, he wanted 100 foot to leave at Burntisland in case he could not carry off all the arms at once. This Mar "went into against his will," saying he would send the foot after them. Sinclair, anyway, "set out by five of the clock with four-score horse," and, arrived at Burntisland, "We seized several small boats and forced some of the townsmen to come along with us to bring in the ship, by maine force against the contrary wind, and receaved all the arms from the ships side and found to my great grief but three hundred wanting one, a bag of flints and two little barrels of ball, and two or three bags of powder about a hundred pounds each and some cartridge boxes. We seized the arms of a big ship which lay in the harbour, which were about twenty-five firelocks and with them a barrel of powder and at the same time the armes of the Town Guard, about thirty. We got back to Pearth before five of the clock and had marched nere to fourtie Scots miles in 24 heures."

The success of this manœuvre<sup>1</sup> raised the reputation of the Highland army, a detachment of which shortly afterwards took possession of Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, Dysart, and all the other towns on the north side of the Forth, and on the Earl of Rothes withdrawing from Leslie, the Jacobites became complete masters of the kingdom of Fife. Thus the whole of the shires of Fife, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, as well as Perth and Inverness, were held for the Stuart interest in the east and centre, including 160 miles of seacoast, while in the west the Isle of Skye and all the inner and outer islands, being the estates of Lord Seaforth and Macdonalds of Sleat, were also for the Chevalier. Only Argyll's own country followed him (though the Campbells were not at all unanimous), while the Lowlands south of Edinburgh and the country round Glasgow, which had all along been in

<sup>1</sup> "A strange use for cavalry to capture a ship," as one of Sinclair's friends told him.

favour of the Union, held to the Hanoverian Government. The Whigs of the extreme north, under the Earl of Sutherland, were at this time completely isolated and powerless.

On the 5th October, Mar at Perth was joined by the Mackintoshes under their chief, and the renowned Mackintosh of Borlum, a man of fifty-eight,<sup>1</sup> and on October 6th and 7th respectively by the Marquis of Huntly, with 500 horse and 2,000 foot, and the Earl Marischal with 200 horse and 500 foot (these numbers are variously given by different authors). Rae calculates Mar's forces, after being joined by General Gordon and the clans from the west, at this time as over 16,000. Sinclair, who was present, reckons about half that number.

Seaforth, with his men, joined later, being at first afraid of leaving his own country exposed to the possible attack of the Earl of Sutherland.

On the 8th of October Mar wrote that he had sent a party of horse that morning to watch the coast of Angus, and had "instructed Huntly to send back 100 horse for that use to the Shire of Banff." Everywhere they watched for the arrival of James Stuart, though at the time "the most likely place where the King will land was said to be Dumbarton," and at one time the romantic Castle of Dunstaffnage, at the entrance to Loch Etive, was mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

Mar adds, "I am taking all the methods I can think of to

<sup>1</sup> Diversely described by A. M. Mackintosh as a saint and a martyr, and by Sinclair as a "Highland bull."

<sup>2</sup> The Castle of Dunstaffnage belonged to Angus Campbell, a Whig, and one of those who signed the bond drawn up by the Duke of Argyll, but there was a strong party of Jacobites in the district.

The neighbouring Castle of Dunollie, now a ruin, was successfully held throughout the Rising against all the efforts of the Argyll militia by Mary Macdonald of Sleat, the brave wife of John MacDougall. He himself was present with the Jacobite army at Sheriffmuir, was made prisoner and transported to Barbadoes.

Colin Campbell of Glendarule, one of those present at Mar's hunting party on August 27, 1715, lost his estates, which were forfeited and purchased by a distant cousin, Duncan Campbell of Lockhead.

make his landing safe, and we must leave the rest to Providence which, I hope, will conduct him to us without danger."

John, Earl of Mar, had much need to lay to heart the maxim ascribed to Oliver Cromwell: "Trust in God, but keep your powder dry." He did not take the most ordinary precautions, and yet expected success.

At this period he began to find the care of his amateur army almost beyond him. When Huntly joined, Mar wrote to General Gordon: "Lord Huntly came to us on Thursday morning, but we were so throng (crowded) here, that he went back to his men at Coupar of Angus until we could order their accommodation here," and yet Mar had the whole of Perth in his hands!

In the camp there was little order and less discipline. The Master of Sinclair says that, "not long after we were in Perth the Highlandmen began to mutinie for want of pay. . . . Southesk gave five hundred pounds to help us to supply the present wants, and Panmure followed his example and gave as much. . . ."

Some of the chiefs paid their own men, but they could not do this indefinitely. The pay was nominally 4d. or 4½d. a day, but issued most irregularly.

Sinclair continues: "A council of Finance was established to fall on ways and means to raise monie, and it was determined to levee eight months cess in these Low-Countrie counties we were masters of." (The *eight* months cess, which should be *six* and *twelve*, is one of the inaccuracies of which this author is so often guilty. See pages 69-70.)

"Mr. Francis Stewart, brother to the Earl of Murray, was made threasaurer, and a committee was establisht for providing the armie with fourage and meal." Later, in his book, Sinclair says that though Francis Stuart collected the money he was never allowed to have any idea how Mar spent it, and implies that a great deal stayed in Mar's pocket, or went to his personal friends.

He gives a most disheartening picture of the want of order

in the Jacobite army. "Tho' orders were given out to form into regiments, everie one did as they pleased.<sup>1</sup> Each commander insisted on having a Regiment under himself, however small, and the same with the troops of horse." Lord Drummond had the King's commission to command the whole horse, but there was much discussion as to which of the four troops had the place of honour, and, indeed, it never seems to have been settled—they were commanded respectively by Lord Linlithgow, Lord Rollo, Lord Southesk,<sup>2</sup> and Sinclair himself. Huntly and Marischal's troops came later. "In my command of the Fife gentlemen I had no rival, tho' I made my court to Mar but very ill," which is indeed a mild way of describing Sinclair's constant criticism of, and bickering with, his nominal chief.

Mar, though said to have a silver tongue and a persuasive manner with women, was totally unable to inspire either confidence or devotion in his followers. He seems to have lacked the most elementary qualifications for a leader of men or head of any undertaking. He had no regular system for lodging or feeding his army, commandeering meal in the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the account of the Jacobite forces in England, where "though they had appointed leaders, every gentleman expected his own advice to be followed."

<sup>2</sup> As usual, the Master of Sinclair has some ill-natured comments to make on this young peer. One almost passes the bounds of good manners: "Southesque was never believed to have either the brains or the soule of a mouse."

Another is more humorous. The young Earls of Strathmore and Southesk were both naturally eager to have the command of the Angus Horse. Sinclair says: "After some little discussion Strathmore said very generously it was the same to him where he served; and pleased himself with the fancie of Southesque's breaking his bones by falling from horseback, because he said, his Mother had not taught him to ride, and that day took the command of Southesque's and his own low-country men joined."

It is curious to note that the Master of Sinclair married, in 1733, Southesk's widow, Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of the fifth Earl of Galloway. (He married, secondly, in 1750, the daughter of Lord George Murray, very much his junior, but died in the same year without issue.) Southesk had died in 1729, predeceased by his two children, when the title passed to a cousin, Carnegie of Pitarrow, from whom is descended the present family.



most haphazard fashion ; or of providing it with weapons or ammunition—in fact, as one writer has said, “Having raised the Standard, he seemed to expect the Rising to run itself.” Of gunpowder, that first essential for any warfare other than a charge of Highlanders, there was a constant scarcity ; it is alleged that when Mar entered Perth there was barely six pounds of it in the army. Sinclair himself had produced a certain amount by his raid on Burntisland, but, as he loses no opportunity of remarking, Mar entirely neglected the obvious resource of sending for it to Holland by some of the numerous small vessels lying in the east coast ports (which were all in the hands of the Jacobites for two months), or, indeed, of starting a factory of his own in the busy commercial town of Aberdeen, with its abundant resources. Even the powder he had was allowed to get wet, for the men had no powder horns, and carried it loose in their pockets, so that the redoubtable Glenbucket was forced to acknowledge, on more than one occasion, that “no firing was possible.” Sinclair says “ram’s horns were there in plenty and gipsies to make them into powder flasks.” Flints also could have been had for the gathering, anywhere on the coast, yet the army was short of them, and as for provisions for man and beast, all seem to have subsisted haphazard on what there was as long as it lasted, and when scarcity arose they went home, the officers, as this author also says, “to get a supply of the readie,” the men to remain with their families till forced out again.

Mar now began to raise the cess or land tax on valued rent, which had, from the time of Alexander III., in 1250, been the basis of Government revenue in Scotland.

The order issued by him was as follows :

“These are commanding and requiring every heretor, Feuar or Wadsetter, now attending the King’s standard or that may be excused, or their factors or Doers in their absence, and likewise all life-renters, immediately to proportion and raise among their tenants and possessors of their respective

estates and Life-rent lands, the sum of twenty shillings on each hundred pound Scots <sup>1</sup> of valued rent, and such heretors as do not immediately nor shall betwixt now and the 12th of Oct. inst. attend the King's standard (if not excused by him the said Earl) immediately to proportion and raise out of their respective estates then, the sum of forty shillings sterling on each hundred pounds Scots of valued rent which several proportions according to their respective cases aforesaid be ordained to be paid by the persons above mentioned on the 12th day of that month. Dated at Perth 4 Oct. 1715."

A further order was issued three weeks later :

"John, Earl of Mar, Commander of His Majesty's forces in Scotland, 27 Oct. 1715.

"Our Sovereign Lord James the Eighth having been pleased to intrust me with the direction of his affairs and the command of his forces in Scotland, and it being absolutely necessary to raise money for their support and maintenance. These are therefore in his Majesty's name requyring and commanding that all men betwixt sixty and sixteen years of age within the shyre do forthwith repair to the Camp at Perth or where the army shall be for the time, with their best cloaths, horses and arms and fforty days provisions on loan at 6 shillings Scots a day or otherwys that every heretor feuar or Wadsetter pay 6 months cess. Heretors and doers also requyred to give in lists of those deficient in payment.

"Payment to be made before 15 Nov. next."

Another order dealt with those opposed to the Rising, and was called

*Instruction for the Collection of the Shyre of Banff*

"That forthwith you issue out coppies of the order for raising the Cess in the said Shyre and cause publish the same

<sup>1</sup> One hundred pounds Scots being £8, 6s. 8d. In the Rising of 1745, Lord Lewis Gordon demanded, on behalf of the Prince, £5 sterling on each £8, 6s. 8d.

timeously. That you exact of all the heritors who do not attend the King's standard twelve months Cess within the Shyre excepting the following cases :

viz. Excepting all minors, factors upon bankrupt estates in creditors hands, women life-renters and super-annuate heritors who are not able to serve, provided if they have sons that one or more of them be in his Majesty's service. You are immediately to give notice of the Deficients that they may be quartered upon and poynded and their persons apprehended." (*S.P.* 54, 12, 344.)

These orders were issued to all the shires in which the Jacobite leaders felt they had any chance of success.

In Mar's own county of Aberdeen, the collector, in 1715, was John Forbes of Upper Boyndlie, a younger son of Sir John Forbes of Monymusk (which estate had recently been sold to Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen). John Forbes was an ardent Jacobite, and the actual Manuscript Cess Roll on which he acted in his collecting is still in existence, in the possession of his descendant, J. M. Ogilvie Forbes, Esq., of Boyndlie. In order that there might be no mistake, John Forbes has marked all the Government sympathizers in the list, from whom he was authorized to collect double cess, with a D !<sup>1</sup>

For a certain period after this there was plenty of money in Perth ; but Mar did not make a very prudent use of it. A good deal was given to needy gentlemen who joined to please him, while the rank and file, whose leaders were unable to pay them personally, often went very short, and only the hope of plunder kept some of the companies together. Small wonder that after any successful action the Highlanders were wont to go home to deposit their booty. It was not until November 24th that Mar issued orders to collect and store

<sup>1</sup> This document, which throws a flood of light on the political sympathies of the inhabitants of Aberdeenshire of the period, edited with notes by the present writers, was printed by the Third Spalding Club of Aberdeen, 1932.

THE EPISODES OF BURNTISLAND AND DUNFERMLINE

meal, commandeering four bolls of meal upon every hundred pounds of valued rent from all those who were "not in the Field for the King."

As illustrating Mar's methods of collecting money, the following may be given, from the *State Papers*.

*To Baillie David Maxwell, merchant in Dundee*

"From the Camp at Perth,  
3rd October 1715.

"SIR,

After acquainting you that there is a very powerful and numerous confluence of noblemen and gentlemen and soldiers here all chearfully resolved to venture their lives and fortunes in the service of our King and Country, I think I need not use many arguments to persuade you that a great many of them are but indifferently provided with money to defray their necessary charges. Several have already very chearfully lent their money towards supporting so good a cause. And it is expected you will follow their good example. All the security they demand is my bond for it either in my own name or the publick or both. And you may chuse what you will. The sum which is expected of you is one thousand pounds sterling which I hope will not straiten you much. And I doubt not of your hearty concurrence in so numerous a work. And you may assure yourself of his Majesty's grateful returns, besides your repayment, and the particular obligation you will thereby putt upon

Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

MAR."

(*S.P.* 54, 9, 4.)

There were many of these letters, addressed to various towns and private persons, and demanding different sums. One to Horn of Westhall, in Aberdeenshire, is also in the Record Office. (*S.P.* 54, 9, 43.)



## 1715 : THE STORY OF THE RISING

On October 4th, Mar issued a proclamation promising protection to all ministers and preachers of the gospel, Presbyterian as well as Episcopalian, who shall not pray or preach against His Majesty.

In the *Annals of George I.*, a probably exaggerated account of Mar's forces at this time is given :

	HORSE.	FOOT.
Mar's 1st body of troops . . .	1,500	3,500
Brigadier Mackintosh . . .		500
Huntly . . . . .	500	2,000
Seaforth . . . . .	800	3,000
Marischal . . . . .	300	1,500
Clans . . . . .	100	4,000
	3,200	14,500

On the 10th October, Mar wrote a letter to the Duke of Orléans, signed by several of the other leaders (and now in the *Archives des Affaires étrangères*). In it he says that the Scots do not actually need foreign help, though they would be glad of it. The reasons for thus hiding the truth are not apparent.

A small engagement which took place on October 24, 1715, reflects little credit on the Highland army. A detachment consisting of eighty to one hundred horse (the accounts vary) and two to three hundred Highland foot was sent to levy cess on the Whig town of Dunfermline. The whole party was under the orders of Major Thomas Graham, a veteran of Dundee's army, under whom Glenbucket, though a colonel, was proud to lead his Highlanders. As a gesture of defiance they passed, on their way to Dunfermline, close to Argyll's garrison at Dinnen, only six miles from Stirling, but were not interfered with, though their passing thus, of course, revealed their purpose. On their arrival at Dunfermline on Sunday evening, October 23rd, all the officers distributed themselves in the alehouses and taverns and went to bed, without even

knowing where their horses were stabled or making any arrangement for a rendezvous in case of surprise. Glenbucket put his men into the Abbey and likewise retired to bed, leaving one sentry at his door, while Graham left one on the bridge, and with James Malcome,<sup>1</sup> another survivor of Killiecrankie, sat down to drink. Meanwhile, Colonel Charles Cathcart,<sup>2</sup> who with two hundred dragoons was in the neighbourhood, having intelligence of the arrival of the Highlanders and of the disposition of the force, stole into the town at five in the morning, having killed the single sentry on the bridge, and effected a complete surprise of the officers and their servants, killed one man, took seventeen prisoners, and beat a retreat before the Highlanders in the Abbey could have time to come out to the attack, which, however, being without orders, and having no one to command them, they did not do. Eleven of the prisoners were officers. These were: Francis Gordon of Craig, who died in Stirling of the wounds received on this occasion, Patrick Gordon of Aberlour, George Gordon, Mill of Kincardine, Alexander Forbes, Younger of Balfluig, Alexander Hay of Arnboth, Alexander Gordon, surgeon, Mr. Murray, son to Abercairnzie, Mr. Kinloch, a physician, William Robertson of Downiehill, John Hamilton of Gibston, and Alexander Smith; the other six were their servants. This trifling success was made much of by the army of Argyll.

Sinclair says one officer of the name of Forbes was killed, but no other account mentions any dead, save the sentry and one other soldier.<sup>3</sup> Sinclair himself is sarcastic over the discrepancy between the accounts of those who made their escape, or, as he calls it, "ran away," and those who did not leave their quarters until the brief affair was over, or, as he describes it, were "hiding under a bed or in a garret," and

<sup>1</sup> Like many others, Malcome is roundly abused by the Master of Sinclair, though he was afterwards very useful in collecting boats to cross the Firth.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Lord Cathcart.

<sup>3</sup> A French account states that Graham, the commander, having refused quarter, was killed in cold blood, but no Scottish historian confirms this.

each party reported that the other had killed or wounded many dragoons. Actually, there were no casualties in Cathcart's force.

The foot in the Abbey had heard the alarm, but were not molested, and next day, finding the rest of the dragoons had ridden off, marched quietly in order to Burntisland, having, of course, accomplished nothing towards collecting cess, but this was done later by Lord George Murray.

After the Jacobite army had been forced to retreat from Perth, Colonel Cathcart had the satisfaction of taking possession of the town of Dunfermline.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE RISING IN NORTHUMBERLAND

A PLEASANTER task it is to chronicle the really fine exploit of Brigadier Mackintosh in crossing the Forth<sup>1</sup> and marching south, though that, too, was marred by a change of plan in the middle, and was unfortunately quite without result.

The cautious Mar was unwilling to try a pitched battle with Argyll, in spite of his own superiority in numbers, until he had, as he expressed it, enclosed the latter "in a hose net." While he was waiting to do this, or till some one else should do it for him, Argyll's forces continually increased in numbers.

Mar had sent a contingent of his forces under General Gordon to attempt to take Inveraray and threaten Argyll in his own country, also to wreak his own personal spite on Argyll, but in this enterprise they were unsuccessful, and Mar had to wait for the return of the party. As he could count on the support of southern Jacobites under Lords Kenmure, Carnwath, etc., he now desired to have a similar party in the south-east of Scotland, and for this purpose sent off 2,500 picked men to Fife with the object of crossing the Forth as far as possible from the bridge of Stirling, which Argyll considered to be the key of the position, and watched accordingly. The 500 marched openly to Burntisland, and succeeded, as was intended, in concentrating upon themselves the attention of the three British men-of-war guarding the Forth. Meanwhile,

<sup>1</sup> Preceded by Sinclair's triumphal progress through Fife, proclaiming the King in almost every town.



the 2,000 men, under Brigadier Mackintosh himself, had marched by secret ways farther to the east, and embarked during the night in a fleet of small boats collected for the purpose from Crail, Pittenweem, and Elie, small fisher towns just round a bend of the coast and out of sight of the ships, the crews of which were surprised in the early morning light to see the enemy nearly across the Firth.<sup>1</sup> They gave chase, but wind and tide were against them (this was not luck, but calculation on the part of Mackintosh), and they only captured one boatload of forty men, while two or three other boats containing nearly three hundred men under the command of the gallant young Strathmore (who was later killed at Sheriffmuir) and Walkinshaw of Barrowfield,<sup>2</sup> took refuge on the Isle of May and were able to rejoin Mar's army a few days after. The main body, about 1,500 strong, got safely to shore on the Haddington coast. Edinburgh was in a panic, and the news of the hasty and somewhat inadequate measures taken to fortify the city suggested to the bold brigadier to make the attack so obviously expected, though this was not contemplated in his instructions, and when it failed Mar was able to stigmatize the attempt in his letters to General Gordon and Lord Kenmure as "an unlucky mistake." On Friday, October 14th, the Jacobite force advanced towards the capital, but hearing that reinforcements from the Duke of Argyll were expected,<sup>3</sup> turned off towards Leith. The whole story of this exploit reads like a boy's adventure book. First, the secret march of the main body through Fife, then the thrilling escape in open boats from pursuit by, and under fire from, men-of-war, then the entrenching of itself by the expeditionary body in Oliver Cromwell's old fort, walling up the gates with carts, barrels, and anything to hand, and arming them with

<sup>1</sup> Which is at that spot sixteen to seventeen miles broad.

<sup>2</sup> Father of Prince Charles's Clementina.

<sup>3</sup> He in fact entered the city by the West Port with 300 dragoons and 200 countrymen while the Jacobite force was at Jock's Lodge, about a mile from the East Port.

guns taken off the boats in the harbour ; having previously broken open, first the prison (and set free the forty men captured the day before), and secondly, the Custom House, where they found abundance of provisions of meal, meat, and liquors, on which they feasted. The next day the Duke of Argyll marched out from Edinburgh to Leith with his small body of troops and a larger but half-hearted one of Edinburgh volunteers. He summoned the entrenched party to surrender, but receiving a defiant answer, and having carefully surveyed the position, decided assault was impossible, and retreated, with the idea of bringing up artillery next day. It is recorded that while parleying with the party in the fort "the cannon balls played among his horse's feet !" "Red John of the battles," as his own clansmen called him, did not lack physical courage.

Brigadier Mackintosh, however, now realized that his certainty of taking Edinburgh by a *coup de main* was gone, and that it would not be safe to proceed further in that direction without orders, so he sent a boat across the Forth with a letter to Mar, taking the precaution to fire upon his own departing messenger, to disarm suspicion, which ruse perfectly succeeded. He then, under cover of night, withdrew to Seton House, the home of Lord Wintoun, where he again entrenched his force. Argyll, with a larger body, proposed to pursue him there, and had he done so, even the cautious Mar could scarcely have resisted the opportunity of attacking the remaining force under General Whetham at Stirling, forcing the bridge and pouring his Highlanders into the Lowlands, thus surrounding and crushing Argyll. He did, in fact, make a move in this direction, but Argyll, warned of it and abandoning his designs on Mackintosh in the nick of time, returned to Stirling, and Mar's opportunity was lost. Mackintosh, had he known this, might have made another attempt on Edinburgh, but the intelligence service of both armies was extremely poor.<sup>1</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> Two Jacobite residents in Stirling warned Mar of Argyll's return ; he seems to have had no spies of his own.

remained at Seton till fresh instructions from Mar reached him, in obedience to which he departed to join the Jacobites of the South and those of England, and did so at Kelso on October 22nd.

Meanwhile, Mar, though he had over ten thousand men with him at Perth, did nothing. After his return from his feint towards Stirling, which had been baulked by Argyll, he began to suffer somewhat from lack of provisions, the country within reach of Stirling having been much denuded by the needs of the Government troops, and his own arrangements being inadequate.

When Argyll marched to attack Mackintosh in Leith, and Mar issued from Perth to threaten Argyll, there was a moment when, according to Sinclair, this threatening force, badly huddled together for the night at Ardoch, and totally incapable of deploying and repelling any sudden attack, might have been easily annihilated by a forward movement on the part of quite a small body of dragoons from Stirling.

The Earl Marischal, however, one of the few trained soldiers in the party, said that, knowing Argyll, he was quite sure the latter would have left definite instructions with his second-in-command not to do anything in his absence ! The result proved this surmise to be correct. Whetham did nothing, and Argyll's party returned safely to Stirling while the Jacobite party did the same to Perth, and the *status quo ante* was resumed—the one glorious opportunity of taking possession of the “causeway” into Stirling, and of Stirling itself, being lost and never recurring.

Mar, in a letter of October 19th to General Gordon, alludes, as has been said, to “Brigadier Mackintosh's unlucky mistake” of marching to Leith, which certainly was not contemplated in any orders Mar gave him, but came nearer to being a success than anything that Mar himself ever did.

(The Master of Sinclair, who puts the worst possible construction on everything done by the Jacobite commander, says



that Mar actually sent away this party of his followers in order to reduce the numbers present with him in Perth, so that his immense superiority over Argyll should not force him to the action he was apparently trying to avoid. It is certain that he had no very definite plan as to what Mackintosh was to do, and the two (intercepted) letters <sup>1</sup> which he subsequently wrote to Kenmure and to Forster show how very uncertain he was as to the consequences likely to ensue.)

It is also certain that, firstly, it was quite possible for a resolute general in Mar's place to have crossed the Forth before his force was weakened by the departure of Mackintosh and his two thousand, and, secondly, that it was never possible again, and that those two thousand, at least all who got over the Forth, were definitely lost to the Cause.<sup>2</sup>

The successful raid for arms at Burntisland (see page 63) had taken place on October 2nd. The shedding of the first blood of the Rising took place at the house of Hepburn of Keith, Haddington, on October 8th. During the week which intervened between that date and the wonderful exploits of "Old Borlum" and his men on the Forth, the beginning and almost the extinction of any chance of success for the abortive Rising in England took place.

Early in October Mr. Thomas Forster, M.P. for Northumberland, and the Earl of Derwentwater, cousin to King James,<sup>3</sup> learning that they were about to be arrested on suspicion, summoned their friends and fellow Jacobites to meet them on the 6th at Greenrig, near Rothbury. Forster, being a Protestant, was considered to be the best commander for the little

<sup>1</sup> See pages 88, 89.

<sup>2</sup> It is very curious that the astute Lord Justice Clerk wrote on 7th October to Robert Pringle that "there are so many Highlanders now in Fife—I hope they may not be to make a trip over in the night time to the Lothians," which is just what they did. Argyll did not believe in the possibility of this, and said it "would be a very odd project." He had no imagination. (*S.P.* 54, 9, 18.)

<sup>3</sup> He was the son of Mary Tudor, Charles II.'s illegitimate daughter by Moll Davis, therefore first cousin once removed to James Francis Stuart.



force. He was an even more unfortunate choice than the Earl of Mar—no soldier, and had not even the merit of personal bravery ; in moments of anxiety he was wont to retire to bed. His sole feat in this campaign was escaping from Newgate when better men than he were executed. He made his way to Paris, and then to Avignon, where he joined the Chevalier in August 1716. He took part in some later Jacobite intrigues in Italy, and was even offered a commission in a proposed rising in 1722, but died in the same year.

King James III. was proclaimed at Warkworth and Alnwick. Holy Island was captured by the brilliant *coup de main* of one Lancelot Errington, but this island, which would have been very useful as a means of communication with vessels coming from France, was unfortunately retaken at low tide next day. The capture of Newcastle,<sup>1</sup> which was the main object of the Rising in Northumberland, was so delayed that it became impossible, the Whig inhabitants having had time to fortify themselves and wall up the gates. Any chance of further successes was negatived by the arrival of regular troops there, and Forster's little army, having sent a message to Mar asking for the assistance of foot soldiers, retreated to the west with a view to joining those elusive Jacobites of Lancashire, whose enthusiasm in 1715, as again in 1745, was chiefly confined to toasting the Stuart Prince and bore scarcely any real fruit in the way of military help.

The force under Derwentwater and Forster, consisting principally of cavalry<sup>2</sup> (as Sinclair said derisively, "an army of fox hunters armed with light dress-swords"), withdrew

<sup>1</sup> In Mar's letter to Breadalbane from Perth, October 14th, he says : "I have just now a letter from Mr. Forster—he was then three hundred horse and was to be joined next day by all the Border and to go straight to Newcastle which they were *sure of*, and of getting good numbers of the best foot in the north of England to join them." A typical instance of counting chickens before they were hatched !

<sup>2</sup> Any possible foot soldiers who did offer their services had to be refused, there being no arms for them.

to Hexham. From there they heard that the Jacobites of the South of Scotland under Lords Kenmure, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, who had set up the Standard of King James in Moffat, Dumfries, Jedburgh, and other towns, had come across the Border to Rothbury, and the two parties met. This united force then crossed the Border and joined the small army of Brigadier Mackintosh on the 22nd October, at Kelso, where James III. and VIII. was proclaimed by Seton of Barns (Lord Dunfermline). On the following day, being Sunday, Mr. Robert Patten, chaplain to Forster, and later a turncoat and Whig historian of the campaign, preached on the text, "The right of the firstborn is his." The sermon in the evening was delivered by an old Scottish Episcopalian clergyman named William Irvine, who told Mr. Patten that it was the same discourse which had served him, twenty-six years before, to stimulate the troops of Dundee in favour of King James II. and VII. before the battle of Killiecrankie.

Mar's manifesto was read again on October 24th, and a council was held to decide whether the combined forces should return to England and attempt to defeat General Carpenter at Newcastle, or proceed northwards to join Mar in crushing Argyll, by taking him in the rear, which was the original purpose of Mackintosh's expedition. Unfortunately, the leaders could not agree; the Highlanders were unwilling to go into England, and the English equally unwilling to go farther north. As a compromise, they proceeded westward towards Jedburgh again, but as Carpenter was behind them it looked very like a retreat, and the forces became, in consequence, somewhat demoralized.<sup>1</sup> Carpenter's troops were both raw and wearied, and would probably have been defeated with ease, but Lord Kenmure could not get the other Scots leaders to agree to halt and offer battle. A project was formed for taking possession of the rich town of Dumfries, but on

<sup>1</sup> A false alarm produced a most undignified panic, some of the Jacobites hastily tearing off their white cockades, others bursting into tears! (Rac.)

hearing that it was well guarded by its own volunteers, and even fortified, the leaders abandoned the idea. The army was now very near the Border, and Brigadier Mackintosh, being at length induced to agree to an invasion of England, set to work to persuade his men to follow him. All eventually agreed to do so, except about five hundred, who departed for their own homes, but were mostly taken prisoners by the Whigs of the west country, confined in Lamington Church, and then sent to Edinburgh. Carpenter returned to Newcastle with his troops.

On the 1st of November 1715 the Jacobite army crossed the Esk into England. Thirty years later, on November 8, 1745, another Jacobite army did the same, and each camped for the first night at Brampton. Here Mr. Forster opened his commission from the Earl of Mar, which appointed him General of the Forces in England. If it were not so tragic, it would be comic to see one incompetent appointing another to a position of such responsibility, and in consequence throwing away the lives of so many loyal followers. A similar commission had been sent to Kenmure, with long letters to each, advising them to do what they thought best.

On the march towards Penrith, "General" Forster was much alarmed to hear that a force of more than ten thousand men was advancing to meet him, led by Lord Lonsdale and the warlike Bishop Nicholson of Carlisle. This, however, though called the *posse comitatus*, was merely a gathering of local rustics, many armed only with pitchforks, and on sighting the Highlanders all of them promptly ran away. The Jacobites took many prisoners, but afterwards released them, retaining, however, what arms, stores, and horses the latter had been able to collect. The army then marched south by Appleby and Kendal to Kirby Lonsdale and Lancaster, receiving only a very few recruits from among the Catholics of Lancashire, and these were counterbalanced by the return home of some Lowland Scots. On the 9th of November the little army set out from Lancaster to Preston, intending to



take possession of the bridge of Warrington and threaten Liverpool. Unfortunately for them this district, long suspect by the Government, was held in force by troops under General Wills, so the Jacobites were obliged to remain in Preston while General Carpenter, from Newcastle, at his leisure advanced against them.

Forster was much encouraged by the fact that numerous sympathizers, gentlemen and their servants, as well as quantities of peasants, now joined him in Preston; Mackintosh, with more military experience, realized the uselessness and indeed danger of such allies. Forster also committed the unpardonable error of concentrating all his strength in the town and not holding the bridge over the Ribble, the guard of which he commanded to retire into the town, and thus threw away an admirable line of defence in the narrow road between the bridge and the town. He entirely lost his head when he heard that General Carpenter was near at hand, reinforcing General Wills, and when Lord Kenmure and others assembled at Forster's lodgings to hold a council of war he was found to be in bed. It is probable that the later dispositions were made regardless of him, for if the town only was to be held the defences were as well arranged as possible—four barriers being erected at the four points of the compass and admirably held respectively, the first by Kenmure and the other lords, with the gentlemen volunteers; the second by Lord Charles Murray with the Athole Highlanders; the third by Borlum and his clan; and the fourth by the Lowland lairds with the few men from Northumberland under their own leaders. On Saturday, November 12th, General Wills attacked two of these points in force, but was unable to make much impression and retired. On Sunday, November 13th, General Carpenter with his troops arrived and proceeded to invest the town.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carpenter afterwards claimed that the reduction of Preston was entirely owing to his dispositions, those made by Wills being ineffective, and a duel between the two generals was with difficulty averted.



Its reduction by siege would probably have been a long and costly business, even if successful in the end, but the poor civilian General Forster, with Lord Widdrington and General Oxburgh, became terrified, and unknown to the rest of the commanders, Oxburgh was sent out to ask for terms of surrender. It is certain that had the Highlanders been aware of his errand they would have shot him as he passed. He was afterwards one of those executed with the full circumstances of ignominy assigned to traitors,<sup>1</sup> for he was at the time holding a commission in the British army. General Wills at first refused to treat at all with "rebels," but was finally induced to say that their lives would be spared, though he afterwards denied this, and gave them one hour in which to decide. Lord Carnwath's brother, Captain James Dalzell, then went out to try and make better terms for the Scots, who were most unwilling to surrender at discretion, but in vain, and hostages were demanded to ensure that no fresh defences should be thrown up during the night. Lord Derwentwater and Mackintosh of Borlum repaired to General Wills's tent, while an envoy was sent to take the parole of all the other leaders. Forster, meanwhile, went in danger of his life, which was actually attempted by one fervid Scot. But his cowardice seems to have been infectious, for all the remaining Scots leaders eventually agreed to the surrender of the town, and on November 14th the English regiments marched in and disarmed the whole force. There were 75 English noblemen and gentlemen, and 143 Scottish. Of the common soldiers, over a thousand were Scots<sup>2</sup> and only a few hundred English; the rustic rabble, being without uniforms, had melted away. This ended the Rising in England. In all, only seventeen men

<sup>1</sup> Iberville to Monsieur le Marquis de Château neuf, 26 Mai, "Le colonel Oxburgh, un des prisonniers faits à Preston fut hier pendu et coupé par quartiers."—*Archives des Affaires étrangères*.

<sup>2</sup> A good many of Mackintosh's original force, as well as of Kenmure's, had managed to escape and return to Scotland, but they did not join Mar.

were killed in the Jacobite army at Preston and about two hundred of the Government forces.<sup>1</sup>

Those of Mar's own regiment made prisoners according to a contemporary list were :

Nathaniel Forbes (brother to Skellater, Major).

Captain John Innes.

Captain John Gordon.

Lieutenant Henry Lumsden (*Cushnie*), with twelve of his tenants.

Robert Garden.

Of the whole affair at Preston a contemporary critic wrote :  
 "None but Fools would have stayed to be attacked in that position, and none but knaves would have acted when there as they did."—*Robert Campbell, biographer of the Duke of Argyll.*

One of the most prominent of these prisoners, Brigadier Mackintosh, afterwards escaped from Newgate. "Having found means to get off his irons, above eleven at night, came down with them under his gown, and placing himself close to the door of the Gaol, when it was opened by a servant who knocked at it, he rushed out and knocked down the Turnkey, by which he himself and fourteen more got out."—*Secret History of the Rebels in Newgate.* Some of the others were retaken, but Mackintosh got away safely, and eventually reached France. A reward of £1,000 was offered for him, but he was not captured, and lived to take part in the Jacobite Rising of 1719 and again escaped. He was retaken in Ross-shire in 1727, and confined in Edinburgh Castle for the rest of his life. He died there on the 10th May 1743, aged eighty-five, so that when he carried out his memorable exploit of crossing the Forth, threatening Edinburgh, fortifying himself first in Leith and then in Seton House, and finally effecting the junction with Kenmure, he

<sup>1</sup> This being still the period of warfare when the odds were always on the side of the defenders as against the attackers.

was a man of nearly sixty. He had married, in 1688, Mary Reade, maid of honour to Queen Anne, whose grand-aunt, Mrs. Winwood, in a codicil to her will, says she does not leave much money to Mary Mackintosh "because she is so fond of her husband, as I do not approve of, because he will ruin her. . . . She will still be so fond of a Scot Tory as to undo herself." They had a daughter named Winwood, and two sons, Lachlan who died before his father, and Shaw, whose son, Edward, became a highwayman, and with him the line died out.—*Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum, Jacobite Hero and Martyr*. A. M. Mackintosh, Nairn.

The Scottish prisoners taken at Preston were treated with great barbarity. In an anonymous letter quoted in the Historical Manuscripts Commission it is said that "70 of them were tortured to death and most sold to be slaves in the plantations." Mar also in his *Legacies to Scotland and to his Son* says: "I regrait much that I have never been able to procure (though I have often endeavoured it) a particular full and exact account of that body of men I sent over the fforth from ffife to join the noblemen and gentlemen of the South of Scotland and North of England then in armes for the King, and of their affair in the citadell of Leith and at Seaton House, their joining the gentlemen of the South and their march into England until the unfortunat affair at Preston, the barbaritys which were committed on our people after that shameful surrender, and the cruell treatment the prisoners met with who were carried to London and those left behind in the county prisons." Many of them also in churches where the accommodation was not inadequate but non-existent.

As another account says: "They continued there (in Preston Church) about a month, the Town's people being obliged to find them in water and bread; whilst they took what care of themselves they could, unripping all the Linings from the Seats or Pews and making thereof Breeches and hose to defend themselves from the extremity of the weather."

This is from Patten, who turned King's evidence, and further adds that "those untried or reprieved continued as objects of his Majesty's most gracious clemency !"

The description of the treatment meted out to the officers and gentlemen taken to London shows the barbarous sentiments of the times.

Four officers, who had been in Government service, were shot out of hand—the rest "who had been appointed to be carried to London, arrived there upon the 9th of December. . . . Every one of them had his arms tyed with a cord coming across his back, and being thus pinioned they were not allowed to hold the reins of the bridle but each of them had a foot soldier leading his horse . . . and proceeded to London through innumerable crowds of Spectators, who all of them expressed the utmost detestation of their crime."

The prisoners taken at Preston were (according to Patten) :

"Two English noblemen, the Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Widdrington, and five Scots, viz. the Earls of Nithsdale, Wintoun and Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure and Lord Nairn. Besides of Englishmen 73 gentlemen, 83 followers and 305 private men, in all 463. Of Scotch 138 officers and gentlemen, 862 vassals and servants, which with 4 English and 17 Scots taken in Lancashire, make 1489. Condemned to death. Derwentwater, Kenmure and Nithsdale. Wintoun was allowed counsel, was to be pardoned but escaped. Widdrington, Carnwath and Nairn reprieved and pardoned."<sup>1</sup>

The two amazingly futile letters written by Mar to his so-called generals are worth printing in full. They both fell into the hands of the Government.

<sup>1</sup> *Rae's History* and other contemporary lists give similar figures. A proposal was mooted (according to a letter in the French Foreign Office) that the prisoners taken at Preston should be sold to the Venetians to fight against the Turks ! They were instead shipped to the plantations, where most of them died, though a few managed to return long after to Scotland, as is known from various family papers.



“To Viscount Kenmure.

MY LORD,

I long extreamlie to hear from you, you may be sure, since I have not the least accounts almost of your motions since I sent the detachment over. I hope all is prettie right again ; but it was ane unluckie mistake of Brigadeer Mackintosh in marching from Haddington to Leith. I cannot but say tho' that it was odd your Lordship sent no orders or intelligence to him, when you had reason to expect that parties coming over every day. His retreat he made from Leith and now from Seaton with the help of the mouvement I made from this, makes some amends for the mistake, and I hope the partie of men with him will be of great use to you and the cause. I wish you may find a way of sending the enclosed to Mr. Forrester, which I leave open for your Lordship to read, and I have little further to say to you than you will find in it. I know so little of the situation of your affairs that I must leave it to yourself what is fit for you to doe, as will most conduce to the service, and I know you will take good advice. My humble service to all friends with you, particularly Brigadeer Mackintosh, Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray and Mackintosh who I hope are joyned you ere now ; and indeed they all deserve praise for their gallant behaviour. I must not forget Kinackin who I hear spoke so resolutely to the Duke of Argyll from the Citadel,<sup>1</sup> and I hope Innercale<sup>2</sup> and all my men with him are well, and their countriemen longe to be at them ; which I hope they and we shall soon. I have send another copie of the inclosed to Mr. Forrester by sea, so it will be hard if none of them come to his hands. I know your Lordship will endeavour to let me hear from you as soon as possible, which I longe impatiently for. I hope you will find a way of sending it safe. In one of my former, either to your Lordship or somebody to shew you I told that a part of the army would be about Dumbarton, but now you

<sup>1</sup> He had bid him defiance when asked to surrender.

<sup>2</sup> Invercauld.

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would not rely on that, for till I hear from General Gordon I am uncertain if they hold that way. I have sent your Lordship a copy of my new commission, which perhaps you have not seen before. I have named the general officers and your Lordship has the rank of a Brigadier of the Horse. I am told Earl Wintoun<sup>1</sup> has been very useful to our men we sent over. I suppose he is now with your Lordship, and I beg you may make my compliments to his Lordship and I hope the King will soon thank him himself. I trouble your Lordship no further now ; but all success attend you and may we soon have a merry meeting. I am, with all respect, my Lord,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

MAR."

From the Camp at Pearth, 21 Oct. 1715.

*Same date.*

*To Mr. Forrester, Generall of the King's Forces in Northumberland*

"SIR,

I wrote to you, of the seventeenth from Auchterardice, which I hope you got. I marched the same night, the horse to Dumblain within four miles of Stirveling<sup>2</sup> and the foot some miles short of that place. Next morning I had certain intelligence of the Duke of Argyll's returning from Edinburgh with most of the troopes he had carried there and was on the march towards Stirling. I also had accounts of Evans' regiment landing in the west of Scotland from Ireland, and that they were on their way to Stirling. I had come away from Pearth before the provisions were ready to go with us and I found all the country about Stirling where we were to pass Forth was entirely exhausted by the enemy so that there was nothing for us to subsist on there. I had no account from General Gordon as I expected and the soonest I could expect him at the Heads of Forth was two days after that, and I could not

<sup>1</sup> At his trial Lord Wintoun put in a plea of insanity, but this was disallowed.

<sup>2</sup> Stirling.

think of passing Forth till I was joyned by him. Under those difficulties and having got one of the things I designed by my march, the Duke of Argyll's withdrawing from our friends in Lothian, I thought fit to march back to Auchterardice which was a better quarter, though not a good one either. Next morning I got intelligence of the Duke of Argyll's being come to Stirling the night before and that he had sent express upon express to Evans' dragoons to hasten up. I had a letter also that morning from General Gordon, telling me that some things had kept him longer than he expected; that it would be that day e'er he could be at Inverary, and that he could not possibly joyn me this week. Upon this I thought it better to return here,<sup>1</sup> which is a good quarter and waite his coming up, and the Lord Seaforth's than continue at Auchterardice; since it would not a bit retard my passing the Forth when I should be in a condition to do it and in the meantime I could be getting provisions to carrie along with me in my marche which as I have told are absoloutlie necessarie about the Heads of Forth, so I came home last night. I very much regrate my being oblidge to this, for many reasons, particularlie because of its keeping me so much the longer from joyning you; but you easilie see it was not in my power to help it. However I hope my stay here shall be very short and you may depend upon its being no longer than it necessarily must. The passage over Forth is now so extreame difficult, that its scarce possible to send any letters that way, and within these two days there was two boats coming over with letters to me, and were so hard pursued that they were oblidge to throw the letters into the sea; so that I know very little of our friends of that side and less of you, which is no small loss to me. I heard to-day by word of mouth, that the detachment I sent over are marched and joyned our friends in the south of Scotland, so I hope they may be useful, but I hope you know more of them than

<sup>1</sup> Perth.

I do. I have now writ to Lord Kenmure, but it is ten to one if it comes to his hands. I know not what he is doing where he is nor what way he intends to dispose of his people; whether he is to march into England or towards Stirling to waite my passing Forth, and in the ignorance I am of your affairs besouth the river, I scarce know what to advise him. If you be in need of his assistance in England, I doubt not but you have called him there, but if not, certainlie his being in the rear of the enemy when I pass Forth or now that the Duke of Argyll is reinforced, should he march towards me, it would be of great service. I am forced, in a great measure to leave it to himself to doe as he finds most expedient. I am afraid the Duke of Ormonde is not as yet come to England, else I should have the certaintie of it one way or the other before now. I cannot conceive what detains him nor the King from coming here. However I am sure it is none of their fault, and I hope they will both surprise us agreeably very soon. I believe I told you in my last, of the Lord Strathmore and two hundred of the detachment that was going over Forth and drove into the Island of May by three men of war, being got safe ashore on this side and are now joyned us again; there were but two of all the boats taken and I hear that some of the men that were in them who were made prisoners in Leith, were relieved by our men when they came there, but that their officers were sent to Edinburgh Castle, so I want some reprisals for them, which I hope to have e'er long. Tho' Mackintosh Brigadier's mistake in goeing to Leith was like to be unluckie to us and them, yet it has given the Duke of Argyll no little trouble, and our march oblidging him to let them slip, has, I am apt to believe vext him. I beg you will find some way to let me hear from you. Ever since my detachment were in Fife all the men of War that cruised on the north Coast betwixt Peterhead and the Frith have been in the Frith and I believe will continue there, to prevent my sending more over that way. So that all that coast is clear which I wish to God the



King knew and you may easilie send a boat here, anywere with news from England. I hear there is one of the regiments of foot come from Ireland to Stirling. When you write to me by sea, pray send me some newspapers that I may know what the world is a doeing, for we know little of it here these eight days. Success attend you, and I am with all truth and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

MAR.

From the Camp at Pearth, 21 Oct. 1715."

If nothing else were known concerning Mar's generalship and conduct of the Rising, the above two letters would be sufficient to demonstrate the utter incompetence of the man. He had no definite plan in sending Mackintosh's detachment over the Forth, not even to enclose Argyll, as he said elsewhere, "in a hose net," because he left it quite vague as to whether Mackintosh and Kenmure (if the former could find him !) were to go into England or return towards Stirling. He tries to lay the blame for his own vagueness on Kenmure, whom he was then making a brigadier, and yet seems to have expected him to send orders to one who already had that rank, and of whose whereabouts Kenmure was ignorant. He adds that in his own ignorance he must leave Kenmure to do the best he can, and, worst of all, says it is doubtful if General Gordon will join Kenmure, having just ordered Gordon to join himself.

To Forster he gives himself away even more thoroughly, showing he had omitted, all the time he had been in Perth, to make any store of victual for his troops, saying the passage of the Forth has now become "extreame difficult," when he might much more easily have crossed it some weeks before, previous to Argyll's being reinforced ; giving a somewhat garbled account of his half-hearted advances to Ardoch (which was in truth nearly twelve miles from Stirling). He

had, in fact, never really meant to do anything, until joined by Huntly, Seaforth, and the clans, as well as by General Gordon, though he had in the letter to Kenmure held out hopes that Gordon might be joining *him*.

As Sinclair says (in this case quite justifiably), "No man can paint Mar so naturallie and so crooked as he does himself."

## CHAPTER IX

### SHERIFFMUIR

**E**VEN more tragic in its influence on the Jacobite cause than the total collapse of the insurrection in England was the indecisive battle fought at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane, on the same day as the surrender at Preston. This involved the credit of the entire Jacobite army, finally demonstrated the incompetence of the commander, and led to the ruin of the whole Rising. After the small disaster at Dunfermline, Mar remained inactive in his headquarters at Perth. He had received his commission as Lieutenant-General of the Forces from King James, and various sums of money from France,<sup>1</sup> yet he still waited, hoping for more and more Highlanders to join him, and for the arrival of the promised expedition from France. But the failure of Ormonde to effect a landing in England (on the second occasion he was unable to remain there when he had landed) at length convinced Mar that nothing was to be expected in that quarter, nor anything to be gained by waiting. He was also heartened by the arrival of the Earl of Seaforth with between three and four thousand men from the North, and having summoned back General Alexander Gordon from the West (where the operations on which he had been engaged had been without real result<sup>2</sup>),

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Abercrombie said *he* brought 4,000 pistoles, and General Ecklin brought a similar sum in a different ship. Berwick writes, on June 2, 1715: "Lt.-General Ecklin, lately turned out of employment in England, has writt me from Calais that he is arrived there to offer his services to your Majesty. I could wish he had rather stayed in England!" He therefore sent him back as soon as possible.

<sup>2</sup> They had merely resulted in increased activity on the part of Argyll's

Mar found himself at the head of over twelve thousand men facing Argyll at Stirling with barely a quarter of that number.<sup>1</sup> The statistics of both armies are variously given by contemporary writers, but the Government forces were certainly under 4,000. Wightman's account gives Argyll's army as consisting of 3,500, and "little more than half of them engaged." (Perhaps disregarding those who ran away.) Robert Campbell's *Life of the most illustrious Prince, John Duke of Argyll*, gives the same number, "3,500, of which 1,200 were dragoons." Rae says, "Argyll had scarce 3,000 effective troops," and Argyll said the same. (See page 109.)

One authority credits Mar with 16,000 men. Patten would put it even higher, saying that Seaforth and his men, with Macdonald and others to the number of 8,000, *joined* Mar just before November 10th, he having previously had nearly 10,000.<sup>2</sup> In any case, while leaving considerable reserves in Fife, he had with him in Perth more than 12,000 men, and outnumbered the Government forces by between three and four to one. At length it was decided, after a council of war, held on November 9th,<sup>3</sup> to wait no longer, but to attempt to cross the Forth to Edinburgh and advance into England.

Having so many effective men, it was proposed to march straightway to Dunblane and thence to detach 3,000 men with brother, Lord Ilay, which, in turn, caused some of the clans, such as the Camerons and Stuarts of Appin, to delay joining Mar, while it entirely prevented others from doing so at all.

<sup>1</sup>What finally aroused Mar to take some active steps was the certain intelligence that the first contingent of the 6,000 Dutch troops had actually landed in Scotland, and he rightly feared waiting until the whole should have arrived.

<sup>2</sup>"Two hundred of Huntly's best men, who had been under the command of Glenbucket, also deserted and went home, having as they said been designedly oppressed more than the others." (Sinclair.)

<sup>3</sup>The Master of Sinclair does not mention this council, but only the one held on the morning of the battle, when Mar (as he says), "it being the onlie good action of his life, made us a very fine speech . . . and desired the vote to be stated 'Fight or not,' when all unanimouslie, to do them justice, called out 'Fight.'"



the object of holding Argyll's army of about that number. Rae says the plan was "to amuse the King's army, by making three sham attacks at so many different places at one and the same time," as follows—with 1,000 they were to attack the end of the causeway leading to the bridge of Stirling, with another thousand to make an attack at the ford at Cambuskenneth, below the bridge, and with a third to make an attack at the Drip cobble, a mile above the town. And while the Duke of Argyll's army should be engaged in repelling these three feints, the main body of Highlanders should cross the river still higher up,<sup>1</sup> and march unhindered into England. The Duke of Argyll, however, by means of spies, which on *this* occasion seem to have been efficient, becoming aware, on November 10th, of these arrangements, forestalled the whole plan by marching out of Stirling on November 12th and taking possession of the rising ground above Dunblane. To guard Stirling he left the county militia and the Glasgow regiment under John Aird, their late provost. (See page 23.)

Mar's main army left Perth on November 10th with baggage and provisions for a few days, three battalions remaining in Perth under the command of Major Balfour. On the first day out the horse cantoned at Dinnen, and the foot, which had been reinforced by the return of General Gordon and the clans, lay out at Auchterarder. Next day, the 11th, a review was held, and immediately afterwards Gordon's contingent and the horse moved off in the direction of Dunblane. The Master of Sinclair, who was in command of the Fife Horse, and also, by special request, of Huntly's two squadrons, describes how at three in the afternoon they were met by a little lame boy, a messenger from Mrs. Stirling of Kippendavie, to

<sup>1</sup> By the fords of Frew, as Prince Charles did on September 13, 1745; but in Mar's army there seemed to be no one who really knew these fords, or their condition at the moment. Moreover, before crossing the Forth they would have to cross the Teith, and the fords of that river were also an unknown quantity to this singularly ill-informed army. They only knew that the bridge over the Teith at Doune had been destroyed.

warn them of Argyll's movements. They sent immediately back to inform Mar (who was incredulous), and they also put out patrols to reconnoitre ; but, night falling, they were compelled to seek shelter and provision for the horses, and finding two little farmhouses and yards on the left bank of the Allan, they had to break down the stone walls with their hands before the horse could enter. Here they were joined by Mar, who was greatly annoyed that General Gordon had been unable, as ordered, to take possession of Dunblane, after which Mar had intended to march forward with his main body and attack Argyll at Stirling. Mar still refused to believe that in this, as already stated, he had been forestalled by Argyll. The latter, realizing that since the river was beginning to freeze over, his position at the bridge-head had lost much of its advantage, had quietly left that position and, taking possession of the town of Dunblane, formed his men in battle array on the heights above Kippendavie "betwixt Dunblane and the Mountain called Sheriffmuir." (Rae.) They lay down where they were on the frozen ground with their arms beside them—the general himself passing the night in a sheepcote on a bundle of straw.

The Jacobite army also camped under arms at a small place called Kinbuck, about three miles from the Whig army—having decided that it would be very awkward to stumble on Argyll's forces in the dark. "Never," says Sinclair, "since the invention of powder were so many troops packed in one small space. It cannot properly be said we had a front or rear any more than has a barrel of herrings. . . ." But Argyll's army was apparently unaware of this defenceless position, or equally disinclined for a night action, and nothing happened till next day.

Between the armies lay the dreary waste of high ground known as Sheriffmuir, so called from having been formerly a rendezvous for the militia. Argyll had selected this spot, favourable for the use of his cavalry ; thus Mar, after two

months of futile waiting, was forced to give battle on ground of the enemy's choosing.<sup>1</sup> He formed his army in two lines, the first consisting of ten battalions of foot, chiefly Highlanders, among whom was the redoubtable Glenbucket—the whole line commanded by General Alexander Gordon and Brigadier James Ogilvie of Boyne, Mar himself being in the right centre. The second line comprised Huntly's and Seaforth's men, the Athole Highlanders, Struan's foot, the Angus men, and the Perthshire battalions. The ends of each line were protected by horse, and nearly 1,000 men were left in reserve. Argyll also had two lines, but his first contained only six battalions, and the second was merely a support in the centre ; both lines, however, were well protected at either end by dragoons. He himself commanded the right. About eleven o'clock on Sunday morning, November 13th (a curious day and hour to be selected by devout Presbyterians), Argyll's men began to move, and Argyll himself carefully reconnoitred the rising ground which lay between the armies, for such is the lie of the land that neither army had a complete view of the other. Mar was thoroughly alarmed by the turn of events, and lost a good deal of time before taking up a position, with the result that there was some confusion in the line, in spite of the dispositions of General Hamilton, which drew favourable comments from his opponent, General Wightman.

At length the Earl Marischal rode forward to reconnoitre, and communicating what he had seen to Mar, the latter made a speech to the troops, and then ordered a sudden attack by the left wing.

There was great enthusiasm among the Highlanders, and all felt certain of victory. Their musket fire being very accurate did much damage to the enemy, but an outflanking movement by the heavy cavalry of Argyll under Colonel

<sup>1</sup> Sinclair says, "He was stunned, finding there was something more requisite than lyes, for it was not with us he was to have to do, but with the enemy and blows must decide it." . . . "He was no longer writing in his warm room in Perth."



Cathcart (made possible by the sudden freezing of the marshy ground on which Mar had counted, as a protection for his left flank) succeeded, after a hard fight of three hours (during which the Highlanders rallied and faced-about no less than six times), in driving the Jacobite left wing as far as the river Allan. Many of the fugitives were drowned, but very few actually cut down by the dragoons.<sup>1</sup> It was noted that Argyll's Scots officers were more anxious to drive off than kill the enemy, many of whom were their friends, and even relatives.

The right centre <sup>2</sup> of the Jacobite army, under the personal command of Mar, meanwhile obtained a complete victory over the opposing left wing, and drove the enemy with great slaughter almost to Stirling. The Jacobite cavalry never drew rein till they reached Causewayhead, and were under the impression that they had won the battle,<sup>3</sup> the configuration of the ground preventing their knowing what was happening on their own left. A visit to the battlefield would show how easily such a thing might occur, and how it could be said of the two *left* wings that both had been defeated, unknown to the main body of the respective armies.

<sup>1</sup> The defeated left wing of the Jacobite army was commanded by General Hamilton, an experienced soldier. An additional reason for the failure of this part of the field to do itself justice is given in *The Life of the Duke of Argyll*, where it is reported that one Drummond, an aide-de-camp of Mar, was a traitor. He was sent to Hamilton with instructions to push the attack, and, instead, gave false information as to the Jacobite right and centre having been repulsed, with the result that Hamilton slackened his attack in order not to get out of touch with the rest of the army, and the Highlanders, ceasing to attack, lost heart and became the pursued. Drummond is said then to have joined Argyll. This story lacks official confirmation.

<sup>2</sup> Mar's right wing completely outflanked the enemy on its left.

<sup>3</sup> But they did not, as they might have done, take possession of the town. General Whetham arrived there in flight, and gave out that all was lost. Sinclair says, "Not onlie all in our view and before us turned their backs, but the five squadrons of dragoons on their left, commanded by General Whetham went to the right about and never lookt back till they got near Dunblane, almost 2 miles from us. (Stirling was 2 miles farther.) The Highlanders pursued the infantry who ran as hard as their feet could carry them, a great many of them threw away their arms to enable them to run faster."



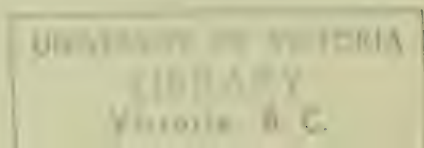
*Extract from a Whig News Letter, Stirling, November 16, 1715,  
describing Sheriffmuir*

“Our left wing was attacked befor it was formed and the foot were put in disorder before the horse came up. What savd them a little was a partie of horse under Lord Tarfichan (Torphichen) marching up throw a defile, call'd the foot to stop and threatnet to fier or ryde them down, upon which they ralied and returnd upon some that had followed them and left the rebells main body : and here it was the Captain of Clanronald fell. . . .”

When the intelligence of the disaster to his left wing reached Mar he reformed his men and marched back to Sheriffmuir, where, with his usual fatal indecision, he hesitated to attack the small remnants of Argyll's army still left there, and remained all afternoon inactive, even allowing the exhausted troops returning from the pursuit of his left wing to pass unmolested by the foot of the hill to reform and eventually to re-enter Dunblane. It is said his men could have seriously embarrassed the Government forces had they only thrown down stones ; the Highlanders apparently thought they had “done enough,” and waited for the rest of the horse to move, which for lack of orders it did not do, and so the day was lost.

Many things combined to prevent Mar from achieving the victory to which his superior numbers entitled him.

As already described, there was much indecision in his army before the battle began, and the orders were not very clearly given nor very strictly obeyed. There is no doubt that the cavalry which should have been on the right of the front line (Marischal and Livingston's horse under Lord Drummond) somehow found itself in the centre. Whether they or the foot had taken up the wrong position seems un-



decided, though it is usually stated to have been the latter which had got out of line in ascending the hill.<sup>1</sup> The centre, therefore, was the strongest portion of the line, the foot being the flower of the Jacobite army, and well supported by cavalry ; it was completely successful, defeating Argyll's centre and left. But cavalry was also needed on the right wing to pursue the flying dragoons, and three separate orders were sent by aides-de-camp from Kilsyth, from Mar, and from Huntly to divert the three squadrons—Rollo's, Southesk's, and Sinclair's—from the left of the rear to the right of the front line. The two former leaders obeyed at once at a gallop, the latter following slowly and reluctantly, seeing the mistake that had been made and never coming into actual action.<sup>2</sup> The change was a fatal move, for it left that wing of Mar's army, which had been surprised by Cathcart's cavalry, without any support from horse of its own, with the result which has been seen. When Argyll's right wing returned from the pursuit of Mar's left, and Mar's right centre from the pursuit of Argyll's left, the Jacobite right wing was still more or less intact, with Sinclair's horse (which he had not allowed to join in the pursuit) still ready to support. As that portion of the army outnumbered

<sup>1</sup> In an unpublished MS., written by Lord Pitsligo in 1719, he says, "I had been all along pretty familiar with Colonel Clephan. He had told me several things relating to the skirmish at Sheriffmuir. He shewed me on paper the first disposition of the Battle, and how it was broken in the march up the hill, which in all probability deprived us of a compleat victory." Colonel Clephan was a veteran of great experience, who had joined Mar from England, and to whom the latter expressed much gratitude.

<sup>2</sup> Sinclair took great credit to himself for keeping his squadron intact, but that after all is not the main function of cavalry in a battle ! Had he charged Wightman's three regiments which formed Argyll's centre it would have prevented their going to the support of the Duke's victorious right wing. He (Sinclair) had, however, quite early in the fight, heard the bad news of the breaking of the Jacobite left. Also he had no confidence in the generalship on his own side. His comment on the campaign in England shows this :

"These mock Generals, and Lords, except Wintoun, Darnwater and Nairne, being not good for much, *no more than our own*, by what I have seen of one and heard of the other, it was not in nature they (or we) could succeed, the spirits of the best men on earth must be broake by such leaders."

Argyll's whole force, it could at this juncture have fallen upon him as he returned from the river Allan, and probably have annihilated him ; but no one had the initiative to give orders to do this, though Mar admitted afterwards that it should have been done. The two forces remained looking at one another till almost dark, when each drew off in the direction from which it had come in the morning, leaving the stricken field untenanted.

Mar retired to his own previous camp at Ardoch, and Argyll to Dunblane, but the latter could truly say he retained possession of the battlefield as he returned next morning to gather up the spoils, many standards and colours and some cannon, with muskets, plaids,<sup>1</sup> and broadswords in large quantities. He then returned to his quarters at Stirling, and Mar to his at Perth. Both commanders have been blamed for their conduct of this battle, and from a military point of view no doubt it was badly managed on both sides, and should have been decisive one way or the other,<sup>2</sup> but the result was sufficiently crushing for the Jacobite army. Its prestige was entirely gone, and large numbers of the clans left Mar and went home ; some, it is said, in disgust at the result of the battle and of their behaviour there. Others retired to the north to protect their own country, among them being the clansmen of Seaforth<sup>3</sup> and Huntly, whose estates were now threatened from Inverness. This town, almost at the same time as the other two disasters, had fallen to Whig Highlanders led by Duncan Forbes of Culloden and Lord Lovat, the latter at length having declared himself definitely on the side of the Government. In consequence all the Frasers (who had

<sup>1</sup> The Highlanders having, as usual, thrown these away when making their charge. It was seriously given as a reason why Huntly's men could not fight again after Sheriffmuir that "they had lost all their clothes." (See page 207.)

<sup>2</sup> It was said by one critic, "Argyll is a better Christian than he is a General, for he does not let his right hand know what his left is doing."

<sup>3</sup> Seaforth was actually only one week with Mar and the main army.

joined Mar under Fraser of Fraserdale) had changed sides and gone home two days before the battle. The Aboyne men went home immediately after it, because their leader, Auchterhouse, was killed, and Strathmore's also for the same reason. Mar's army was, by all these causes, reduced by nearly one half, and at this inauspicious moment King James set out for Scotland. (See page 121.)

Argyll, writing after Sheriffmuir, says :

"I find by our prisoners that several of the most considerable people among the Rebels are killed or wounded. The Lord Huntly was once prisoner,<sup>1</sup> but by some accident made his escape. My Lord Marshall is certainly shot in the body, some say dead, and we find that many of their foot of the left wing were drowned in the River Allen." (*S.P.* 54, 10, 60.)

The Master of Sinclair also says :

"The Duke's left was not formed when the Highlanders attacked. Indeed General Gordon received a message from Mar through Captain Livingston of Dumbarton's regiment, bidding him, with great oaths, to attack the enemy *before* they were formed."

On Argyll's side it may be said that by the configuration of the ground he, when ordering his line of battle, was able to see the weakest half of Mar's army, *i.e.* the subsequently defeated left wing, while the right, consisting of Mar's best troops, was hidden from him, and when it did come into view was found far to outflank his own line, necessitating some rearrangement and consequent delay.

The number of Mar's men slain in the battle of Sheriffmuir is variously given. From 600 to 800 were reported by the Government against 600 of their own (nearly one-fifth of the army), but the Jacobite authorities give their own numbers of dead as less ; Mar himself said 60, and added, "There lay

<sup>1</sup> This statement is not confirmed by any Jacobite accounts. The impression in Mar's army, as reflected in the ballads of the day, is that Huntly took *very* good care of his own safety.



dead on the field of battle, fifteen of the enemy for one of ours." Argyll's artillery was never able to come into action, which accounts for the small numbers slain. Mar's strength in this arm was negligible.

The young Earl of Strathmore was killed and the Captain of Clanranald, while Lord Panmure, Drummond of Logie, Irvine of Drum, and other prominent leaders were wounded, and a very large number of prisoners made. Eighty-two officers were prisoners in Stirling.

On the Government side the Earl of Forfar died of his wounds.

In the minutes of the town council of Banff a week later appears the following concise account of the battle (the odds are a little overstated) :

"This Nov. 13 day the rebells having marched from Perth where they had lyen for about six weeks, were mett by the Duke of Argyll with only 3,000 men whereas the rebells were 15,000 strong, upon Sheriffmuir near Dunblain, when about two o'clock afternoon they had a hot engagement and severals killed on both sides, as we were soon after informed by numerous runaways."

(The Jacobites held most complete sway in Banffshire during the autumn of 1715, and Mar had successfully called out the militia and levied cess in the whole county, but the writers of official minutes were still Whigs.)

The *St. James's Post* of November 28, 1715, says, "On all hands it is agreed that the affairs of the Rebels are very much distracted, especially since they have heard the fate of their friends in Lancashire."

The best-known account of Sheriffmuir is in the popular ballad of the period, embodying, as such verses always do, a great deal of truth :

"There's some say that we wan,  
Some say that they wan,  
Some say that none wan at a', man ;

## SHERIFFMUIR

But one thing I'm sure  
That at Sheriffmuir  
A battle there was which I saw, man.  
And we ran, and they ran, and they ran and we ran,  
And we ran, and they ran awa, man."

Both sides claimed the victory, and both had been partially successful, but the fact remains, as Rae says, " By this battle the heart of the Rebellion was broke, the Earl of Mar was baulked of his design, his undertaking for a March to the South was laid aside and never attempted afterwards, and his numbers daily decreased, so that he could never gather such an army again."

## CHAPTER X

### GENERAL THE DUKE OF ARGYLL

AN extract from a letter now at Castle Grant,<sup>1</sup> sent from Aberdeen to one, Thomas Fordyce, of date 12th December 1715, shows the condition of affairs a month after Sheriffmuir.

"Inverness is being well fortified and Sutherland has left there about 800 of Grant's men. He came into Elgin on the 4th with 2,000 men and the Frazers and Monroes were to follow last week and are about 1,000. He has putt Dunbar of Thunderton, Provost of Elgin, in the Tolbooth, His crymes are proclaiming the Pretender and drinking his health publicly. There was baill offered, but refused. . . . No doubt by this time you have heard that the Marquis of Huntly, Lord Rollo, Master of Sinclair and Mr. Archibald Ogilvy,<sup>2</sup> etc. forced Mar to send Colonel Lawrence<sup>3</sup> to Argyll and since have not been at Mar's Levce. . . . The Laird of Elsick (Bannerman) is come home, the Earl of Kintore, and Lord Frazer and a great many other private Gentlemen, and the Marquis of Huntly is said to be on the road to his own house. Upon the 4th, Lord Edward Drummond<sup>4</sup> and Capt. Abercromby came here in a ship from France with 9,000 pistoles and went to Mar's camp on the 5th. There came also ane other ship at Montrose, with the like quantity of gold and some gentlemen." <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Castle Grant Papers. Most of the Grants were Whigs and had joined the Earl of Sutherland.

<sup>2</sup> Laird of Rothiemay and brother of the Brigadier.

<sup>3</sup> A prisoner. <sup>4</sup> Afterwards sixth Duke of Perth.

<sup>5</sup> One of these gentlemen was Lieutenant-Colonel Ecklin, who was said to have "come from France a month before the King." He was afterwards sent north with Lord Duffus on an embassy to Seaforth, and escaped with the Master of Sinclair from Gordon Castle to Orkney, when every one "consulted his own safety."

There was thus a small accession to James Stuart's forces from his friends overseas, but this was balanced by a larger number of desertions from among the former adherents of Mar.

Much of the history of what follows is taken from *The True Account of the Proceedings at Perth, etc.*, written by a *Rebel*, London, 1716, which was at one time considered to have been the work of the Master of Sinclair. It is now usually held to be that of a Whig, very probably a spy, who knew what passed in Mar's councils, and wrote the pamphlet as a kind of skit. Many of the statements in it are at variance with the truth, but as an account of contemporary opinions and gossip it is illuminating. Of the battle of Sheriffmuir, or as it was then called "Dumblane," this anonymous writer says, "My Lord Mar would have it be said that we had gained the victory at Dumblane; it is true we were all of opinion that the Duke of Argyll had no pretence to it, and that at least he ought to have been content with calling it a Drawn stake." The writer adds that the Jacobite troops were in no way disheartened by this indecisive battle, which was "the Fortune of the Field," and concurred with General Hamilton, the professional soldier, who advocated that Mar's army should "camp where it is for 8 days and wait to joyn all our Troops together," no doubt hoping that the contingent at that time in England would defeat the Government forces there and return to strengthen Mar's army. General Hamilton also added that "if it was not a victory now, Mar ought to fight Argyll once a week until he made it so, and if we did so, though Argyll was to have such a victory every time, he would be ruined in the end, and the Country open to us." The writer of this "True Account," whoever he was, held no brief either for Mar or for Argyll as a general.

Argyll's own opinions and feelings as regards the battle have apparently never been printed, and no historian alludes to them. They may be gathered from his letters, preserved



among the State Papers at the Record Office, and are of remarkable interest from the personal as well as the historical standpoint.

John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll, born 1680, died 1743, was an able politician, and had been a soldier under Marlborough, acquitting himself creditably at Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, and less well later in Spain in 1711. He was Commissioner to the Scots Parliament, 1705, and one of the prime movers in carrying through the Act of Union; Colonel Hooke's report, 1703-7, describes him as "absolutely sold to the English." For this he was rewarded first with the Thistle and then with the Garter. He took an active part with his Whig colleagues in bringing about the peaceful accession of George I.; and he was then appointed as Commander-in-Chief of all the land forces in Scotland. Immediately after the raising of the Standard (September 6, 1715) he was made a general in His Majesty's army, and set out for Scotland on September 9th. His grandfather and great-grandfather had both been beheaded for conspiring against the Stuart kings, and it was therefore with a kind of poetic justice that it should have been assigned to him to crush the first military effort of James Francis Stuart on his own behalf.

On the 12th he had reached Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, and wrote to Lord Townshend, as already seen, that if Mar were to act with vigour the troops in Scotland might be "beat out of the Country" before he himself could get there.

The Government general was certainly what would in the Great War have been called a defeatist, but his hands were in many ways tied, his force inadequate; and but for the fact that the general opposed to him was yet more inept and dilatory, the cause of the Old Chevalier would have had a chance of success.

The next day, September 13th, having received his troops, Argyll writes that he is greatly perturbed at the small num-

ber of them, and points out that they are quite "insufficient to prevent the rebels reaching England" (*S.P.* 54, 8, 68).

His opinion was shared by Charles Cockburn, son of the Lord Justice Clerk and himself a soldier, who was, later, wounded at Sheriffmuir, for he says, "If once the rebels pass the Forth they shall be able too soon to reach England." But owing to Mar's indecision they postponed trying to pass the Forth till too late to do so !

Argyll reached Stirling on September 17th. "Soon after he arrived he reviewed the army, which did not then exceed 1,840 men, the regiments of Carpenter and Ker included." (*S.P.* 54, 8, 70.)

Argyll's own clansmen were said to be, "to the extent of one half, in favour of the Scottish Rising, against the Union, more than actually in favour of a Stuart King" (*Sinclair*). Quite a number of Campbells were with Mar, including Campbell of Glendarule, Campbell of Glenlyon, Lord Breadalbane, etc. Those who were on the Whig side had signed a bond at Inveraray on 11th August 1715. This is still extant in the original MS. and is reproduced here, at page 114.

When Mackintosh of Borlum threatened Edinburgh on the 14th of October, the Lord Provost (Sir George Warrender, from October 6, 1713, to October 4, 1715) sent an express to Argyll in Stirling. A fortnight before, being in terror of an incursion by the Highlanders, the provost and town council had issued an order that the city gates should be kept shut, with the exception of three, viz. the Netherbow, the West Port, and the Bristo or Potterrow. These three also were to be shut at sundown and not opened till sunrise, also for two hours in the middle of the day, and that no one was to appear in the streets, taverns, or coffee-houses after ten o'clock. "Let none pretend ignorance." (*City Chambers, Edinburgh.*)

In response to this appeal, Argyll did come into Edinburgh

with 500 men, but Mackintosh finding, as already seen, that Edinburgh was not to be the easy prey he had hoped, turned aside to Leith, and threw his troops into Cromwell's old fort. Argyll appeared before the fort and summoned the enemy to surrender ; but, not unnaturally being met by a refusal, and being totally unprovided with material for a siege, he returned to Edinburgh, and having there received an alarmist message from his second in command at Stirling, Colonel Whetham, that Mar was actually advancing in force, he returned to Stirling on October 18th and remained there inactive, waiting for his enemy to move, until November 12th, when he himself took the initiative.

That others besides Argyll were amazed by the supineness of Mar is shown by a further letter of November 8th from Lord Provost Campbell, who had been elected, October 4, 1715, to succeed Sir George Warrender. "We must admire (*i.e.* wonder) since Lord Mar has been joyned both by the Clans from the West and North, that he has not made any motions, but as they tell us, justifying himself, and as his friends give out, is in great expectation of receiving the Pretender shortly at Perth. In my opinion he waits to know the fate of his detachment with Borlum to the South." (*S.P.* 54, 10, 33.)

The fate of the "detachment," and also the result of Mar's own motions in the direction of Argyll having been so very unfavourable to the Jacobite cause, Argyll might well now have taken heart, but he did not do so.

One thing that depressed him was, as he wrote to Lord Townshend, "I find by our prisoners that they know all my orders as soon as I know them myself" (*re* the movements of troops, etc.). (*S.P.* 54, 10, 62.)

Six days after the battle of Sheriffmuir, on 19th November, he writes from Stirling begging Lord Townshend to send more troops, and also to relieve him from the supreme command. He appears to be in a pitiable state of mind, and says, "We

are at present under as miserable a Dilemma as can possibly be imagined. If the enemy advances, we have but one of two pairs to take, to fight or to retire. In the first case I think both the country and this Corps of troops will be lost. In the latter the country is lost and, which adds to our difficulties, our foot do not at all think they can beat more than their own number." (*S.P.* 54, 10, 64.)

From the commander of the force computed at no more than three to four thousand, which had certainly defeated one wing of an opposing army of three or four times its numbers and remained in possession of the field, these sentiments do not show much military vigour. Mar, though perhaps no better a soldier, had at least "the sense (according to the Lord Justice Clerk) to despatch to France one Murray, with an account of his Victory." (*S.P.* 54, 10, 69.) This was James Murray of Stormont, who had been in Scotland with letters from his master in September, was taken prisoner, but escaped from Newgate, and, later, returned safely to France, where he joined his master at Avignon in 1716. He lived to be the proxy at the wedding of James and Clementina, and to upset many of James's faithful followers by his arrogance. Later, as Earl of Dunbar, he became the tutor so distasteful to Prince Charles, and eventually died in Avignon, in the odour of sanctity, in 1770, leaving Cardinal York as his "heritier universel." (His will is in the Bibliothèque of the Musée Calvet there, and shows that he had joined the Roman Church, as he wished that 1,000 Masses be said for the repose of his soul.)

In Argyll's next letter to Townshend he says, "My Lord, I hope your Lordship will be so good as to prevail with his Majesty to send somebody to command-in-chief, under whom I will most heartily serve, at ye head it is impossible for me to continue." (*S.P.* 54, 10, 70.) He thought, as was certainly the case, that the Government had little real confidence in him, the feeling in Whitehall being that no Highlander was trustworthy.



The Government sent, not a new Commander-in-Chief, but a colleague in the person of General Cadogan, the faithful friend of Marlborough, just returned from Flanders (often alluded to as Mr. Cadogan), whose mission seems to have been largely to spy upon Argyll, urge more active measures, and, when they were taken, assume full credit for them. Even a Jacobite to whom the name of Campbell is anathema can hardly fail to be sorry for the Campbell chieftain at this juncture.

On November 21st the Duke of Argyll writes again to Lord Townshend to say he is very glad the Dutch troops are coming at last. "I could not persuade myself hitherto to give your Lordship one reason I had to convince you of the necessity of a reinforcement, and I hope your Lordship will think it very necessary to keep it secret. It is, that some of our Troops behaved as ill as ever any did in this world, which makes it the more wonderful that the day should have ended as it did. I have had further accounts of the preparations of the Rebels, whose vigilance and furious zeal is inexpressible. . . . In short, my Lord, they are ten times more formidable than our friends in England ever believed, tho' your Lop. will do me the Justice that from the beginning, very long before I left England, I had the fortune to guess pretty rightly of what has happened since and if I am not more mistaken than ever I was in my life, His Majesty will need to employ a considerable army in this country before the Rebellion is suppressed, and I dare venture to say to your Lordship that there is nobody here think it will ever chance that three thousand men will get the better of 9,000 of the Rebels again.

"It is impossible for me in a letter to explain to your Lop. the many different accidents to which my success was owing, but when I have the honour to see your Lop. I will undertake thoroughly to convince you that it is next to an impossibility that the same should happen again." (S.P. 54, 10, 74.)

What Argyll could not foresee was the divided counsels

in the Jacobite camp, where no one really trusted Mar, and Huntly and Seaforth, who commanded the largest individual contingents, were chiefly concerned with the safety of their estates in the North, as threatened by Sutherland and Lovat, and were shortly to open separate negotiations on their own account, the former even before he left the camp and returned home.

Argyll further adds, on November 27th, that "if the Pretender lands, a very few days will put him at the head of 20,000 men." (*S.P.* 54, 10, 86.)

Alas for the Stuart hopes, when James did arrive with his little following of five or six, his very presence, his melancholy appearance (and the ague from which he almost immediately suffered on his first introduction to a Scots winter), seemed to damp rather than encourage the enthusiasm of his followers, and to lead to desertions from the Standard rather than reinforcements. In the same letter Argyll reports to Lord Townshend, without apparently realizing the full significance of it, that Lord Huntly, Lord Rollo, and Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown have written to him desiring to make special terms and to "come in." A further important fact is that Colonel Lawrence, one of Mar's prisoners who had been sent to Argyll to endeavour to arrange for a general exchange (see page 116), told the Duke that "Mar knew he was beat at Sheriffmuir," but published an account of a victory to "keep his people in heart," which he had so far succeeded to a certain extent in doing. After these suggestions of surrender from prominent Jacobites, and the actual arrival of Lord Stormont and his eldest son (the Master) to give themselves up, Argyll did pluck up courage to ask Lord Townshend for directions how to deal with those who "come in," and says he encloses a list of them—which list is, unfortunately, no longer with his letter; the only other prominent man he mentions being Smith of Methven. (*S.P.* 54, 10, 165.)

Shortly after this Lord Sutherland writes on January 1st

to Lord Townshend complaining of Argyll, who has not sent him the desired reinforcements. (S.P. 54, 11, 1.) These, apparently, according to his own account, Argyll had not himself received in sufficient numbers. Sutherland reports (S.P. 54, 11, 1) "great Gatherings both by Huntly and Seaforth," but the purpose of these gatherings was, as already foreshadowed, to make a truce with the Government, which Huntly kept, though Seaforth did not, rejoining his friends at a later date.

From *A Chronological History of Britain* may be gleaned the following :

"Dec. 1st. The Earl of Sutherland being in possession of Inverness, the Earl of Seaforth marched from the Earl of Mar's Camp with 300 horse and 2 battalions of foot, on pretence of rescuing that Post and securing his country, but it is likely he had another design as afterwards appeared, for about the latter end of this month he made his submission and dismissed his men." (He afterwards withdrew his submission and escaped to the Isles.)

"Dec. 6th. The Marquis of Huntly now separated from the Earl of Mar and never afterwards joined him.

"Dec. 12th. Stanhope's Dragoons arrived at Edinburgh in order to proceed to the camp at Stirling under the Duke of Argyll, with 1,400 Dutch who were there before.

"Dec. 15. A General Rendezvous of Mar's troops at Perth.

"Dec. 17th. Some men of war beginning to batter the Castle of Burntisland, the Scotch immediately abandoned it as they did 2 days after all their other garrisons between Forth and Tay"—that is, they now gave up their hold on the important county (or kingdom) of Fife which they had held for two months, and thus lost command of the coalfields.

Even after Sheriffmuir, Mar had still a force of 7,000 or 8,000 men and 400 officers ; with the small garrisons he had



By kind permission of Mr. Campbell Preston.

THE BOND SIGNED BY THE CAMPBELLS WHO ADHERED TO THE  
DUKE OF ARGYLL AND HELD THEMSELVES READY TO REPEL AN  
INVASION.

August 11th, 1715.





in various places, considerably more.<sup>1</sup> As has been pointed out by more than one writer, even if he felt it necessary to evacuate Perth (since, as he said, with the Tay frozen, Argyll could have crossed anywhere and taken him in the rear) he might have retired slowly northward, making frequent stands, and Argyll would have been forced to leave garrisons in each place taken, and so weakened his main body. But there is no doubt that very shortly after November 13th Mar had decided to abandon the Rising. The following considerations are said to have decided this half-hearted leader :

1. He thought he had reason to believe that the Regent Orléans wished it abandoned. (Several French writers have pointed out that Orléans, who was only waiting for a chance to occupy the throne of his delicate little cousin, had a fellow-feeling for the strong-handed "Usurper" of the English throne. See page 10.)

2. No help had come from England, and Scotland "was not to do the business alone."

3. It was considered wise to wait for the election of a new and less Whig House of Commons.<sup>2</sup>

These were specious arguments, but in reality it was decided to abandon the enterprise from discouragement ; even before James's arrival, Mar had sent a messenger to stop his coming, but failed to do so, as James's own envoy failed to stop Mar in the previous July.

At this period Mar was most anxious to prevent any of the Jacobite leaders from endeavouring to approach Argyll with a view to capitulation or trying to make terms for themselves. This anxiety might well have proceeded from a general's natural desire to keep his forces intact ; but, as Mar could not but be aware that the Jacobite cause was wholly lost, his

<sup>1</sup> These numbers melted away rapidly during the period of inaction. When James reached Perth there were barely 5,000.

<sup>2</sup> It is matter of history that the advisers of George I., fearing the results of a General Election, took the unconstitutional step of transforming the expiring triennial into a septennial parliament.

motive appears rather to have been fear lest, in any capitulation or indemnity agreed to by the Government, there would be notable exceptions, among which he was likely to be the first. He therefore proposed the signing by all the leaders in Perth of an Association "Never to admit of Terms till the King was restored, the Union broken and the Church establisht." In consequence, stormy meetings of the leaders took place (graphically described by the Master of Sinclair, who was present at most of them); it being pointed out that oaths were not needed by those who were loyal to the cause, while the disloyal would have no scruple in breaking them. Mar, when pressed, said that he no longer really expected King James to land in Scotland, and had tried to stop his leaving France.<sup>1</sup> Eventually Colonel Lawrence was again sent to Argyll to see what terms might be had; some of the Highlanders even expecting to be bribed to lay down their arms—as they had been by King William in 1690. Lawrence returning brought only intelligence that Argyll would apply to London for power to treat (which had not yet been accorded to him), and the matter of a general capitulation was not revived. Mar, some time later, in defiance of the terms of his own proposed Association, wrote personally to Argyll, receiving the same answer.

Huntly,<sup>2</sup> Scaforth, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, and others, having given no promises nor signed any bond, subsequently made their own terms, and many others "gave themselves up" or "came in," as recorded at intervals by the Lord Justice Clerk.

It would appear that after his first abortive attempts at negotiation, Mar arranged that ships should be furnished (in

<sup>1</sup> Provost Patrick Bannerman of Aberdeen told Sinclair that letters were in his hands and also at other seaport towns *from Mar to the King* "as he thought to stop him from going further" should he land. (Sinclair.)

<sup>2</sup> According to a letter from Townshend to Argyll, in the Cox MSS., V. 21, 24, Huntly's first offer to Argyll was made as early as December 6, 1715.

case of necessity) to take off all the officers from various points. Certainly before the retreat began, a French messenger was sent to warn three little ships in Dundee to proceed to Montrose to be ready to pick up whoever was to go. The Lord Justice Clerk knew of these boats and guessed their significance. (See page 148.)

Later, when Perth was abandoned and the retreat begun, the leaders consoled themselves with the unworthy thought that "We could at any time march as fast as they (the Hanoverian troops) and rest our men every 3rd day." As will be seen, Argyll himself was quite aware of this. (*Ibid.*)



## CHAPTER XI

### THE LANDING OF KING JAMES

TO return to the Prince in whose name the campaign was waged—James in France, hearing of Mar's initial success in raising forces on his behalf, although he had not meant Mar to start in August without him, felt that in spite of the failure of the Duke of Ormonde's attempt at a landing in England, the time had come when he must, in face of all discouragements, join his faithful subjects in Scotland. Leaving the shelter so long vouchsafed to him in Lorraine, he set out, on October 28, 1715, for Paris and the coast.

His first attempt to reach Nantes having failed by reason of the vigilance of Stair's spies, he started again for St. Malo, and on the way thither had a very narrow escape from assassination at the hands of agents of the Regent Orléans.

He had left Bar-le-Duc in disguise (he went out to hunt, and a false James came back), and the Regent of Orléans, *qui avec adresse, nageait entre deux eaux*, according to the *Mémoires de Saint-Simon*, promised to shut his eyes and let James pass secretly, while in the meantime nominally granting Stair's demand that he should be arrested.

Contades, major of the regiment of Guards, was ordered to go with his brother and two picked sergeants to Château Thierry and wait for James, intelligence having been received that he would pass that way. Contades started on Nov. 9th, with instructions from the Regent Orléans to miss his quarry.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Le Régent, voulant à la fois fomenter les troubles d'Écosse et faire montre de zèle pour le roi Georges, donna, en présence de Stair, des ordres à

Stair, distrusting Contades and his master, made other arrangements.<sup>1</sup>

James came to Chaillot, where he slept and saw his mother, and departed as for Alençon.

Stair became aware of this, and dispatched several parties in different directions with murderous intent. Among others, the Irish colonel, Douglas, who stationed himself with two armed companions at Nonancourt.

The postmaster of this place was absent, and his worthy wife managed, when Douglas arrived, to put him off the track. He went down the road to watch for his quarry, while she detained and made drunk two of his men, and hid James on his arrival in his chaise ; she then sent a message to de Torcy, and had the two would-be assassins arrested as "loitering with evil intent" ! Subsequently (three days later), she obtained another post chaise, and James proceeded safely towards the coast, disguised as an abbé. Douglas returned to Paris, but the Regent looked coldly on him and on Stair, though the two agents were liberated. Queen Marie sent for Madame L'Ospital, the postmistress, and thanked her, and the "King of England" later on sent her his portrait, which exonerates him from the accusation of ingratitude levelled against him by some French writers. James Stuart almost invariably had perfect manners.

At the time that James was first about to make a start, Bolingbroke had written on the subject from his own safe retreat in France to Mar in Scotland, on September 20th : "I must be of opinion that a more fatal conjuncture can never happen and that the attempt can probably end in nothing but the ruin

Contades, major des gardes, d'aller à Château-Thierry, surprendre le Prétendant à son passage. Contades, homme intelligent et bien instruit des intentions secrètes du Régent, partit bien résolu de ne pas trouver ce qu'il cherchait." (*Mémoires secrètes de Charles Pinot Duclos*.)

<sup>1</sup> "Stair, qui ne se fiait pas médiocrement à cet officier, ourdit de son côté une trame qui fut au moment de réussir." *Ibid.* (Stair, who put little faith in this officer, evolved (wove) a scheme of his own, which very nearly succeeded.)

of our cause forever. . . . But if our friends are not in a condition to wait without submitting and giving up the cause entirely and forever, desperate as I think the attempt is, it must be made; and dying for dying, it is better to dye warm and at once of a feavour than to pine away with a consumption."

Bolingbroke wrote again on 4th November to James: "To press your Majesty to lose no time in attempting to pass into Scotland." (*Stuart Papers*.)

James Stuart was, as Andrew Lang points out, almost pathetically influenced by the advice of those he thought his friends—unlike his son, Charles, who was always perfectly certain he himself knew best. In this case, James's own inclinations pointed the same way as the advice given to him.

Bolingbroke's advice was easily given by a man who was risking nothing, and eventually made his peace with what he had so often called the "Usurping Government" of Great Britain, and died in England in 1751 in possession of his estates. He had, in 1711, written to Robethon, a French refugee who had been King William's secretary,<sup>1</sup> that it was "impossible to be more devoted to the Elector's service and that of his illustrious house" than he himself was, so that "like Prince Charles's religion in 1745," according to Lord Elcho, Bolingbroke's political principles were "still to seek."

At St. Malo, which James at length reached in safety, he found the Duke of Ormonde nominally getting ready for a second attempt to make a landing in England (destined to be quite as unsuccessful as the first), and surrounded by such a crowd of followers that no secrecy could be maintained as to James's own movements. The Duke of Berwick urged

<sup>1</sup> Robethon remained in England as a kind of unofficial agent for the Hanoverian heir during part of the reign of Queen Anne; in 1713 he was appointed *Sécrétaire des Ambassades* at Hanover, and it was to him that Bothmar, from St. James's, wrote the brief and triumphant note on August 1, 1714: "The Queen died this morning—our Master was proclaimed without difficulty. I wish we may soon have him here." (*Stuart Papers*.)

It was he also who had said that the crown of England would fall to "whoever was first on the spot."

## THE LANDING OF KING JAMES

James to make for Scotland, and Bolingbroke was insistent that England would afford him a better chance, but neither offered to accompany him, and James eventually decided to make his way incognito to Dunkirk and sail from that port, where, as in several other places, a vessel was kept waiting for him.

His journey through Normandy and Picardy in the worst of the wintry weather, accompanied by one groom, was as romantic and almost as hazardous as that of his Uncle Charles after Worcester. (MS. at Frascati.) As a testimony to the character of James Francis Stuart, so often traduced by English writers from Thackeray onwards, the following is worth preserving. It was written by O'Flannigan, who accompanied him from Commercy, until he finally sailed from Dunkerque for Peterhead, a period of two months of wintry weather.

“As I had the honour to conduct his Majesty throughout his journeys, and saw him constantly for soe long a time, I doe here declare on honour and conscience and without any manner of partiality, laying aside the affection and zeal I owe him as my sovereign, that I never knew any have better temper, be more familiar and good, always pleased and in good humour, notwithstanding all ye crosses and accidents that happened during his journey ; never the least disquieted, but with the greatest courage and firmness resolved to go through with what he had designed on . . . in fine possessing eminently all ye qualityes of a great Prince with those of a most honest private gentleman.”—*A Journal of His Majesty King James's Journey*. *Scottish Historical Review*. June 1924.

He sailed from Dunkirk on December 15th or 17th (old style<sup>1</sup>) ; a letter of the former date says, “Je touche en

<sup>1</sup> Having two kinds of date was fully realized as a difficulty. In making arrangements for one of the abortive attempts, Berwick asks pertinently “are we using old or new style ?” The New Style, or Gregorian Calendar, was only introduced into England in 1751 ; it had been in use on the Continent for two centuries.



ce moment à mon départ,"<sup>1</sup> having been detained until then by contrary winds. In this case, they were not exclusively the "Protestant winds" so often noted in English history, since their action also prevented the English artillery from leaving the Thames, and Argyll at Stirling had to be content instead with twelve pieces sent from Berwick.

The voyage to Scotland, which it required some considerable courage to undertake in a small vessel of 200 tons burden and eight guns, across seas infested with British men-of-war, took five days (some say seven), at the end of which James found himself opposite Montrose, the actual scene of his frantic appeal in 1708 to Admiral de Forbin that he might be set on shore, if only with one servant. It was again considered unsafe to land at Montrose, which was watched by some suspicious-looking craft, and the little vessel proceeded northward to Peterhead, where, on December 22nd, James landed. Surely an unpicturesque and somewhat bleak part of the kingdom of Scotland to be the first to greet her Prince's eyes !

It is said that the ship, having on board a cargo of brandy, attempted to run up the little river Ugie, but the night was wet, and the tide late, and eventually a landing was safely effected at the old harbour of Port Henry ; the town of Peterhead was favourable to the Stuart cause.<sup>2</sup>

A code had fortunately been arranged whereby the waiting Jacobites should recognize their master when he came ; a white flag on the masthead of the vessel, raised and lowered several times, and answered by the display of a white cloth on

<sup>1</sup> *Archives des Affaires étrangères—Papiers d'Écosse*. (He dates this December 26th, *New Style*, as writing in France.)

<sup>2</sup> From the *Book of Buchan*, by J. F. Tocher, 1910 : "At the outbreak of the Rising in 1715, the Jacobite party was in power in Peterhead. Twelve fencible men went to Fraserburgh with George Leith and in a spirited manner proclaimed the Old Chevalier as His Most Gracious Majesty King James III., against the wishes of the town's superior, Lord Saltoun. The Chevalier was also proclaimed at the Market Cross at Peterhead, at the foot of Broad Street, on the site now occupied by the Reform monument."



*From a sketch by Miss Heather Duff.*

FETTERESSO CASTLE.



a headland. A boat went out to meet the ship, the password being "Lochaber," and the counter-sign "Locheil," and after being carried ashore in a somewhat undignified manner from the boat on the back of Captain Park, James at last landed in what he described in a brief note to Bolingbroke as "my own ancient kingdom." He had with him five or six persons only, all disguised as naval officers, among them being Allan Cameron, whom he sent off to Perth to announce his arrival, and he stayed one night in a house in the Longate in Peterhead, where a certain Mrs. Bruce, who wished to see the King, put on the servant's mob cap and apron, carried into the parlour a cup of chocolate, and saw the rightful heir of Britain's throne standing with his cocked hat pulled over his eyes, in deep despondency before the fire. The next night he slept at Monkshome, Newburgh,<sup>1</sup> a house of the Earl of Marischal, visited the Lady Marischal, mother of the Earl, at Inverugie, and passing through Aberdeen (where he dined with Skipper Anderson), still incognito, he arrived on Christmas Eve at Fetteresso, the principal seat of the Earl Marischal, where, two days later, Mar, Marischal himself, General Hamilton, and other leaders arrived and paid homage to their Sovereign, now dressed as befitted his rank. He was proclaimed King at the gate of the Castle, and the bedroom occupied by him is still shown. He at once sent off General George Hamilton, in the vessel in which he himself had arrived, to demand help from France.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Monks of the Abbey of Deer had a house and a small parcel of ground in Newburgh for a resting-place, called Monkshome, now turned to an Inn, honoured once with a lodger of very sublime quality. The Earl Marischal is proprietor of the Inn and Land."—*Collections for the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, Old Spalding Club*.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton was unpopular with the Scots as being held partly responsible for the defeat of the Highland left wing at Sheriffmuir. Mar said the Highlanders could not endure him. He had done his best to make it so, and to use Hamilton as a scapegoat for his own failure. Sinclair writes: "It must be said there was too much owing to him (Hamilton) (of the flight of the left wing) though not more than to some of their conducts who stayed."



At Fetteresso also James received addresses from the Episcopal clergy as well as from the magistrates and colleges of Aberdeen, and the best face possible was put upon his arrival, though this, it must be owned, was something of a disappointment to the entire Jacobite party, since he brought with him no men, no money, and a not very inspiring presence. He was tall and thin, with a long, melancholy countenance, and one of his French supporters puts it on record "Jamais il ne sourit."

There was perhaps not a great deal in his surroundings or circumstances at the moment to induce smiles.

On the day after his arrival he wrote to the Duke of Orléans a letter, still in the Archives des Affaires étrangères in Paris.

"De Peterhead.

Ce 22 Dec. 1715.

"J'ay Monsieur le plaisir de vous envoi de mon propre pays ou je suis d'arriver apres une très heureux et courte navigation. Le Comte de Bullingbroke vous rendra compte des détails, et je me flatte que vous l'entendray dorénavant d'autant plus volontiers en tout ce qui regarde mes affaires qu'il prende à présent uniquement ma compagnie et celle de tous mes amis. Sans expliquer plus au long que je ne le puis, vu que mon sort est à présent entre vos mains, J'ay fait de mon mieux jusqu'icy, Je continuerais certainement avec le promis de mes amis à agir de même — mais sans votre aide tout est incertain ; ou plutôt tout est bien perdu, si un moment se perde dans les heures qui nous faut. Voyez donc en ma personne un appuy solide à la France, unissez vous à moi comme un amy fidèle et mettez moy en droit de bien favoriser sans contrainte tous les sentiments que j'ay pour vous.

JACQUES R."

(*Papiers d'Écosse* 274. 415.)

## THE LANDING OF KING JAMES

### *Translation*

From Peterhead,  
this 22 Dec. 1715.

I have, Sir, the pleasure of sending to you from my own country, where I have arrived after a short and favourable journey.

The Earl of Bolingbroke will give you all details, and I flatter myself that you will in the future listen to him more willingly in regard to my affairs since he is now wholly in the company (on the side) of myself and of my friends. Without further explanation, which I cannot give you, since my fate is at present in your hands—I have hitherto done my best and will certainly continue to do so, with the promised help of my friends. But without your aid all is uncertain, or rather is certainly lost if any time is wasted. I beseech you therefore to look on me as a firm support to France. Unite yourself to me as a faithful friend and thus place me in a position to indulge without constraint all my feelings for you.

JAMES R.

James has often been blamed most unfairly for the premature rising in Scotland. It is necessary here to recapitulate the facts. Berwick, in his *Memoirs*, written long after the time, says that James sent secret instructions to Mar to raise the Standard, without consulting either himself or Bolingbroke. Now the only letter that James wrote to Mar, urging action, was sent on July 15, 1715, with the full knowledge of, and after repeated pressure from, Berwick, who constantly said that James's honour was concerned in making an immediate start, as indeed he had been urging for the past eleven months. Berwick's correspondence even before Anne's death shows this, and James had already sent a message in October 1714 that he hoped to come to Scotland. In November of that year Berwick had caused him to repeat this

assurance and to say that he himself was coming too. The appearance of Ormonde in France a fortnight after the date of James's letter to Mar, of July 15, 1715, however, entirely changed the face of affairs. Bolingbroke had already fled from England in April 1715, and Oxford was in the Tower, so that by the departure of Ormonde, James's "Captain General of the three Kingdoms," the English Jacobites were now left without a single leader, and it was obvious that they would not (could not) co-operate. James, with what Andrew Lang calls his "sad lucidity," realized the hopeless position of affairs, and writes on July 26th that it is most important to send to Scotland to contradict his former message which had appointed August 10th as the day for the Rising, he having hoped to start on July 28th. Allan Cameron was sent off to stop the Rising, but owing to the accident of his capture at Mons, did not arrive in time. His own account of a previous mission to London in June 1715 to see Mar is in the Stuart Papers. He wrote it long after from memory, at Avignon, but he says the King's distinct instructions were that "Mar was to go down to Scotland, and keep his friends in heart." Obviously not to start a rising. (Vol. I., 557.)

The letter from James of July 15th crossed with one from Mar showing the hopelessness of the position in England, so that Mar must have expected another from his master on the strength of this fresh information, but he would not wait. James wrote again, but not till August 11th, and that letter cannot obviously have been the cause of Mar's departure from London on August 2nd. So Berwick was certainly mistaken, and James entirely exonerated from any responsibility for Mar's mistake and precipitancy.

On September 3rd James Murray of Stormont announced to James in France that Mar was in Scotland, to the undisguised dismay of the King, who, however, to regularize matters, dispatched Murray, as has been seen, to convey to Mar the commission which he had already announced himself to

## THE LANDING OF KING JAMES

possess, though for want of it he had been, as Murray wrote, "in great uneasiness."<sup>1</sup> And this one left the name of the commander-in-chief in blank; whoever it was (possibly Atholl) was to act "by the advice of Mar, Marischal, and others." The later commission, sent by Ogilvie, was to Mar by name.

Even on September 23rd James wrote to Bolingbroke, "The message Cameron brought me gave me great uneasiness, but I thank God that account did not prove true, and since that is, I *still* hope our Scotch friends will at least wait for my answer."

In the MSS. of the Earl Mar and Kellie at Alloa there is a copy of a letter written by Mar on November 24, 1715, certainly calculated to prevent James coming to Scotland at that juncture, but the original was obviously never received by the King. His Scotch friends did not wait, and he arrived to find his cause already lost.

<sup>1</sup> What Mar had actually said was, "There is no authority to act by in that country (Scotland) in case the necessity of affairs should bring things to an extremity there." (*Stuart Papers*, I, 415.)



## CHAPTER XII

### "OUR COURT AT SCONE"

A NEWS-LETTER of the period gives the details of James's landing (although the dates are wrong) :

"The Pretender landed at Peterhead, December 30 Fryday 1715, came to Fetteresso a hows of my Lord Marshals, from that to my Lord Panmur's hows at Brechen, left 25 L. de ores of drink money in both. He came to Scoon Saturday January 8, 1716. As he past Aberdeen there came many out to kiss his hands and here he knighted the provost Bannerman. The regular clargie were imprisoned.

". . . When the Pretender came to Fetteresso there was ane adress from the Jacobit burgesses of Aberdeen presented him by Provost Bannerman there new provost. The disaffected gentry to the Government liquise presented one, as did one of the Colledges in Aberdeen that has ane Episcupall head, (Dr. Midletown), continued there since the Revolution because he then qwalified and has qwalified to all Governments since and has no mind to bawlk the upstart one. Whill the Pretender was here he wowld not conforme so far as to allow a Protestant chaplen, having Father Innise along to direct his conscience. . . . He has created some peers, as Ogilvie of Powrie,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Leslie <sup>2</sup> a Bishop and some others."

Another letter from the same informer, of 25th January 1716, says :

<sup>1</sup> The Marquis de Ruvigny does not include any such title in his Jacobite peerage, and there is obviously some confusion, as Ogilvie was the Laird of Boyne and Fotheringham the Laird of Powrie. Neither was ennobled.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Leslie of Glasslough.

## “OUR COURT AT SCONE”

“Sir, I gave yow the Pretenders progress since his landing. Yow heard from me of the addresses he had from the clergie and other from the town of Aberdeen. The clargies adres (29th December 1715) was gratiowsly received by being introdusd by his Grace the Duck of Mar and the Earl Marshall of Scotland, presented by the two Doctor Gairneses <sup>1</sup> in Aberdeen College ; Mr. Blair,<sup>2</sup> and some other of the Episcopall clergie particularly one Maitland,<sup>3</sup> quho has received new orders since he has been deposed by the Generall Assemblie. There were two brothers of them. I saw them deposed Assembly was a year. The adress congratwlats him upon his arrivell in his own kingdoms, and ends with a harty prayr. The Aberdeen adress is but short. It takes notice, after the first compliments of congratwlation that they had the hapiness among the first considerable places to have his Majesty among them and tho they were not sencible then, yet now they reackon it there honour ; and that as they have had this first honour so they will endeavour to be the first in there loyalty and affection to his Majesties Government.”

The clergy's address <sup>4</sup> in full is as follows :

The humble address of the Episcopall Clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen presented to his Majesty by the reverend Doctors James and George Gardens, Dr. Burnet, Dr. Dunbreck, Mr. Blair, and Mr. Maitland at Fetteresse.

December 29, 1715, introduced by his Grace the Duke of Mar and the Right Honorable the Earl Marishall of Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> “James Garden, Professor of Theology of King's College, Aberdeen, died 1725, and his brother, George Garden, died 31st January 1733.” Both prominent mystics.

<sup>2</sup> William Blair, died February 1716.

<sup>3</sup> John Maitland, minister of Forgue, deposed for “not keeping the Thanksgiving for H.M.'s succession.” He was received into the Episcopal Communion, and died April 16, 1740. His brother, the minister of Inverkeithny, was also deposed as a Jacobite.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in Rae's *History of Late Rebellion*.

“SIR,

We yowr Majestys most faithfull and dutefull subjects the Episcopall Clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen do from our hearts render thanks to Almighty God for yowr Majesty's safe and happy arrivall into this yowr antient kingdom of Scotland quher yowr royall presence was so much longed for and so necessary to animat yowr loyall subjects, our noble and general patriots, to go on with that invincible curage and resolution quich they have hithertoo so successfully exerted for the recovery of the rights of their King and country, and to excite many other of yowr good subjects to joyn them who only wanted this great encuragement.

We hope and pray that God may open the eyes of such of yowr subjects as malitiows and self-designing men have industriowsly blinded with prejudices against yowr Majesty, as if the recovery of yowr just right would rowin owr religion libertys and property quich by the overturning of these rights have been heighly incrochd upon, and we ar perswaded that yowr Majesty's justice and goodness will setle and secure these just priveledges to the conviction of yowr most malitiows enemies. Almighty God has been pleasd to train up yowr Majesty from your infancy in the school of the Cross, in quich the Divin Grace inspires the mind with true wisdom and virtue and guairds it against these false blandishments by which prosperity corrupts the heart, and as this school has sent forth the most illustriows princes as Moses, Joseph, and David, so we hope the same infinitely wise and good God designs to make yowr Majesty not only a blissing to yowr own kingdoms and the true father of them, but also a great instrument of the generall peace and good of mankind. Yowr princly virtues ar such that in the esteem of the best judges yow ar worthy to wear a crown, tho yow had not been born to it, quich makes us confident that it will be yowr Majesty's cair to make yowr subjects a happy people and so to secure them in ther religious libertys and property as to leave no just grownd of

distrust, and to unite us all in true christianity according to the gospell of Jesus Christ and the practice of the primitive Christians. We adore the goodness of God in preserving yowr Majesty amidst the many dangers to quhich yow have been exposd and notwithstanding the hellish contrivances formed against yow for encuraging assassins to murder yowr royall person, a practice abhord by the very heathen. May the same mercyfull providence continue still to protect yowr Majesty to prosper yowr armes to turne the hearts of all the people toward yow, to subdue those quho resist yowr just pretensions, to establish yow on the throne of yowr ancestors, to grant yow a long and happy reign to bless yow with a royall progeny, and at last with ane immortall crown of glory and as it has been, still is and shall be owr cair to instill into the mindes of the people true loyalty to yowr Majesty, so that is the earnest prayer of, May it pleas your Majesty, Yowr Majesty's most faithfull most dutefull and most humble subjects and servants.”

Signed by the above six parsons, and  
many others of the clergy of Aberdeen.

The answer of His Majesty was very brief :

“I am very sensible of the zeal and loyalty yow hav expresd for me and shall be glad to have opportunitys of giving yow marks of my favour and protection.”

He was perhaps still suffering from ague, but if he was always so laconic, there is some excuse for those of his supporters who asked “if he could speak.”<sup>1</sup>

The answer to the address from the magistrates and citizens of Aberdeen was couched in similar terms, but was even briefer.

In a contemporary news-letter appears the following :

“The College of Aberdeen's address was presented by one, Mr. Smith, a regent of Marischal College, but that college by

<sup>1</sup> *The True Account of the Proceedings in Perth.*



appointment of the Government has been visited and their practices enquired into by a committee for that effect in August 1716 and most of the masters laid aside. My Lord Justice Clerk was preces of that committee. One of the old professors confessed his guilt in a figure. He compared the Rebellion to a great mire into which some went willingly and some were forced, in which some went deeper than others and for his part he could not say either his feet or his hands were clean, for tho' he was not over head and ears he might be seen knee-deep. I believe the fying his hands was signing that address presented by Mr. Smith."

From Fetteresso James wrote to the Marquis of Huntly at Gordon Castle desiring him to lose no time in wresting the possession of Inverness from Lovat and Sutherland.

"Fetteresso, December 28, 1715.

"My safe arrival in this my ancient Kingdom will, I believe, be no unwelcome news to you, and though I know your own zeal for my service wants no encouragement, yet my presence will inspire, I do not doubt, new life and vigour into the troops you command. I shall be very impatient of assuring you by word of mouth of my particular kindness for you, but it is of the last consequence to my service that in conjunction with the Marquis of Seaforth you lose no time in reducing Inverness, which I hope will be no hard task, and that the Earl of Sutherland's situation is such that he cannot escape being taken, with his troops, in a manner at present surrounded by mine. Such a number of prisoners would not only be of consequence to my service, but a great security to our prisoners in England, for whom I am in great concern. Despatch is requisite on this occasion and I heartily wish you the satisfaction of being yourself the first after my arrival that has gained an advantage over the enemy. When that is done you cannot see me too soon at Perth with your following."

(*Stuart Papers* I, 484.)

The Master of Sinclair, who himself joined Huntly at Gordon Castle on Christmas Day, 1715, says : “ No sooner did Huntly get the certainty of the arrival of the King, than he sent Dr. Gordon to give his Majestic assurances of his fidelitie, and a true account of the state of his affairs.”

He also says that “ Gordon of Glenbucket (who had gone north and been sent back by Huntly to Perth) was not long of comeing back, who told Huntly how much he was blamed at Perth and that everie bodie was crying out against him . . . but said nothing of Mar, not being willing to widen breeches ; and having obligations to Mar as well as to his master, Huntly, he acted the discreet part.”

Huntly had come home convinced of the hopelessness of the cause, and that the retaking of Inverness was out of the question, even had he been sent some gunpowder, which he pointed out was completely lacking to the Jacobites of the North. This was a constant want in Mar’s army, but was not, as Sinclair says, mentioned at Fetteresso, not being needed there. Huntly had already at this time taken the first steps towards making his peace on his own account with the Government, and had concluded a kind of truce with Sutherland. A second and even a third letter from James moved him no more than the first.

James, meanwhile, was detained at Fetteresso for nine days by the ague, possibly really a feverish cold, due to the unaccustomed rigours of the climate of the nor’-cast. He had always been delicate, having inherited a weak constitution from his frail Italian mother, and suffering all his life from the frantic and confused efforts of several physicians to keep him alive at his birth, on varied diets, as witness the dispatches of the foreign ambassadors at the time.<sup>1</sup> On January 2nd he

<sup>1</sup> His little elder brother, the first son of James II. and Mary of Modena, having died from improper feeding, or, as is sometimes said, from the effects of an untimely visit from his half-sister, Anne, who was just recovering from smallpox ! She refused to visit James Francis, and never saw him at all.

was well enough to proceed to Brechin, and, after two days there, went on to Kinnaird and Glamis as the guest of his faithful supporters, the young Lords Southesk and Strathmore (whose brother was killed at Sheriffmuir). On Friday, the 6th, took place his formal entry into Dundee, supported by Mar and the Earl Marischal, and on Monday, the 9th, that into Perth, whence he passed to Scone and remained there till the 23rd, the date fixed for the coronation, which never took place.

It is certain that James was never crowned ; Scottish writers are unanimous on this point. Martin Haile quotes a MSS. *Journal de Barbier*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which is said to state that "the ceremony was scant and hurried" (though the printed *Journal de Barbier* gives nothing of the kind), and also a letter in the Stuart Papers at Windsor from Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, dated some years later, alluding to the "anniversary of His Majesty's coronation," but both of these no doubt refer to the date fixed by James himself, and neither that festival nor the General Thanksgiving for January 26th ever took place, as the Jacobite army was then about to leave Perth. The wives of some of the Scottish nobles offered to lend diamonds and other jewels for a temporary crown, but this was never made, and indeed the time was too short ; the occasion, too, sadly unpropitious.

The author of *The Proceedings at Perth* says, "They talked of preparation for a Coronation, but the Chevalier and his friends found from the beginning that it *would not do*."

Rae says the news of the "Preparation and march" of Argyll and Cadogan "spoiled the Ceremony of Coronation and the meeting of a Parliament, instead of which fine things, the only matter now under consideration was how to provide for safety."

James was, in all, three weeks in Perth, which he left on January 30th. Nothing of any importance seems to have taken

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place while he was there save the council on January 29th, which finally decided on retreat.

Lemontez, in his *Histoire de la Régence*, sums up rather unkindly the result of James's visit to Scotland: “Il partit après 6 semaines consumées en vaines parades, sans avoir combattu, sans avoir même vu l'ennemi, n'emportant de sa royauté éphémère que le souvenir de s'être fait servir à table par des hommes à genoux, et d'avoir donné lui-même des soins puérils aux apprêts de son couronnement. Il est arrivé trop tard et reparti trop tôt.”

The circular letter issued by Mar from Glamis, destined, says Mr. Patten, “to raise the affections of the people for the Pretender,” is a curious production.

“Glamis. 5th January 1716.

“I met the King at Fetteresso on Tuesday sen'night where we stayed till Friday—from thence we came to Briechin, then to Kinnaird and yesterday here. The King designed to have gone to Dundee to-day but there is such a fall of snow that he is forced to put it off till to-morrow, if it be practicable then, and from thence he designs to go to Scoon. There was no haste in his being there sooner, for nothing can be done this Season, else he had not been so long by the way. People everywhere, as we have come along, are excessively fond to see him, and express that Duty they ought without any Compliments to him, and to do him nothing but justice, set aside his being a Prince he is really the finest Gentleman I ever knew. He has a very good Presence and resembles King Charles a great deal. His Presence however is not the best of him. He has fine parts and dispatches all his business himself with the greatest exactness. I never saw anybody write so finely. He is affable to a great degree without losing that Majesty he ought to have and has the sweetest temper in the world. In a word he is every way fitted to make us a happy people were his Subjects worthy of him. To have him peaceably



settled on his Throne is what these Kingdoms do not deserve, but he deserves it so much that I hope there's a good fate attending him. I am sure there is nothing wanting to make the rest of his Subjects as fond of him as we are, but their knowing him as we do ; and it will be odd, if his Presence among us, after his running so many hazards to compass it, do not turn the Hearts even of the most Obdurate. It is not fit to tell all the Particulars, but I assure you he has left nothing undone that well could be to gain everybody and I hope God will touch their hearts. I have reason to hope we shall very quickly see a new face of affairs abroad in the King's favour, which is all I dare commit to paper.

MAR."

(Printed in several histories.)

The *True Account of the Proceedings at Perth*, already mentioned, throws discredit on all the proceedings of the Jacobite army and leaders, especially those of the Chevalier himself. It is notably inaccurate in several particulars, as when it says James took no interest in the military exercises of his Highlanders, whereas that was one of his chief delights. He held several reviews, though he was certainly disappointed at the small number of troops surrounding his Standard in Scotland when he arrived, just as his supporters were disappointed that he brought with him no contingent of foreign auxiliaries. The anonymous author states that thirty-four persons landed with him at Peterhead—a manifest inaccuracy ! Apparently, also, the author was not actually present at Jacobite councils, though he was certainly in Perth during the times of which he writes. Much of what he describes took place after the Master of Sinclair had withdrawn himself from the army and rejoined Huntly in the North ; a further proof, if one were necessary, that Sinclair was not the author.

Argyll, still in Stirling, was now chafing under the "assistance" of General Cadogan, who freely reported to the

English Government that Argyll was using his fellow countrymen “too tenderly.” He had, indeed, been in communication with Huntly, Rollo, and one or two others who would have been willing to surrender to him if their estates could have been secured. Argyll applied to London for power to treat with them, but was refused. Continually urged by Cadogan, and by orders from London to undertake active operations against the Chevalier, he was able to reply that the country north of Perth had been devastated by Jacobite orders, and that there would be no lodging nor provision for his men. The reluctant order, extorted from James, to burn the villages is still extant. This apparent brutality did his cause much harm, and had really very little result in delaying the advance of the enemy.

The actual burning was carried out by a party under the chief of Clanranald, Ranald Macdonald, brother and successor to the man who was killed at Sheriffmuir, and full particulars are given in the “Accounts of the Burning of the Villages of Auchterarder, Muthill, Crieff, Blackford, and Dunning.” (Printed in the *Maitland Club Miscellany*, 1843.)

At Blackford, which was the first to be destroyed, orders were given to burn every dwelling, sparing nothing except the church and the house of Mrs. Paterson which had been used as a Jacobite meeting-place.

The destruction of the villages took place between January 25th and 29th.

The text of the Burning Order is as follows :

“James R.

Whereas it is absolutely necessary for our service and the public safety that the enemy should be as much incommoded as possible, especially upon their march towards us, if they should attempt anything against us or our forces ; and being this can by no means be better effected than by destroying all the Corn and Forage which may serve to support them on their march, and burning the houses and

villages which may be necessary for quartering the enemy, which nevertheless it is our meaning should only be done in case of absolute necessity ; concerning which we have given out full instructions to James Graham younger of Braco,<sup>1</sup> as soon as he has certain intelligence of the enemy being actually on the march, to burn and destroy the town of Blackford and all the villages adjacent thereto and also all the corn, hay and straw and all the fuel which he can apprehend may be of any use to the enemy.

These are therefore ordering you and requiring you how soon this order shall be put into your hands by the said James Graham forthwith, with the Garrison under your Command, to burn and destroy the village of Auchterarder and all the Houses, Corn, and forage whatsoever within the said town, so as they may be rendered entirely useless to the Enemy. For doing whereof this shall be to you and all you employ in the execution hereof a sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court at Scoon the 17th day of January in the fifteenth year of our reign 1715-16.

By His Majesty's Command."

To this is appended the King's Sign Manual  
and it is countersigned by Mar.

On January 24th Mar wrote to General Gordon :

"The burning goes mightily against the King's mind, but there is no help for it and what I think is needful is Dinning, Auchterarder, Blackford, Muthill and Crieff,—what is betwixt Dinning and the Bridge of Earn being so near that it may be spared to the last. Blackford to be burnt first."

General Cadogan says that this "act of barbarity," of which the utmost capital was made, "detained the Govern-

<sup>1</sup>James Graham of Braco was one of those who acted as a secret service agent to Mar, and considerable sums paid to him for "Intelligence" appear in the accounts of monies spent by Mar "other than that for paying the army." These accounts, though apparently meticulous, do not deal with the large sums sent from France.

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ment troops but one day at the most,” though Cockburn wrote that it “will incommode our army on the march.” (*S.P.* 54, 11, 64.)

Rae, another inimical witness, says “the Poor inhabitants were exposed to the open air in that stormy season, and ’tis said, some poor decripted People and children who could not get fast enough out, were smothered in the Flames,” and speaks also of “the poor soldiers who had no lodging but the Cold Snow.” It is well known that King James regretted the necessity for this action more than anything else in his life, it being almost his last thought when he left Scotland to write a letter, which still exists, saying that if any money remained over after paying the army it should be given to relieve the necessities of these poor homeless people.

A proclamation issued by James and printed at Perth by Mr. Robert Freebairn proclaimed “a day of General Thanksgiving for his safe arrival through many dangers and difficulties to this our ancient kingdom. Said day to be reverently and decently observed by all our loving subjects. Given at our Palace at Scoon, 10 Jan. 1716 in the 15 year of our reign.”

The day fixed was January 26th, and before that date arrived, the weeping James was preparing to retreat, and neither projected thanksgiving nor proposed coronation ever took place.



## CHAPTER XIII

### THE RETREAT FROM PERTH

THE Government was well informed on Jacobite matters, and very soon after the King had landed at Peterhead, James Cockburn, secretary to Argyll, had announced the fact to Lord Townshend. Cockburn says "he came to Glamis, will be at Perth to-morrow and they are preparing a house at Scone for him." He also notes that the public entry into Perth took place on January 9th. General Cadogan, from his post of watching Argyll, writes that "if the Pretender be come at this time, I think we are obliged to him." (*S.P.* 54, 11, 5.) From the depression which James unfortunately spread around him, this surmise was probably quite true.

After the arrival of James in Scotland, Argyll was granted what he had been demanding for at least a month, viz. authority to offer His Majesty's clemency to any who will "come in." He writes, somewhat unwisely, that if he had received this power when he first asked for it, the rebellion would have been over by this time, and that now the Pretender has come, he fears few will desert him.<sup>1</sup> He is also annoyed that his plan of advance should be ascribed (by Lord Townshend) to the newly arrived General Cadogan and altogether sounds thoroughly querulous. It should be remembered that he had long ago asked to be relieved from the post of Commander-in-Chief, for which he felt himself inadequate, and in spite of the description of him in *Burke's Peerage* as "a great military commander," he was certainly right. Although he did good

<sup>1</sup> A Campbell and a Whig had still firm views on the Highland honour, even of his enemies.

work under Marlborough in the Low Countries, the only victory ever ascribed to him, personally, was the doubtful one of Sheriffmuir, and his command-in-chief of the British Army, 1735-36, was uneventful. It will be seen that he afterwards bitterly regretted having written the letter above quoted.

At length he commandeered a number of the country people to clear away the snow, which had fallen heavily, and so made possible the advance to Perth which was being urged upon him. The freezing of the Tay was, of course, all in his favour. The Jacobite headquarters in Perth became alarmed, and it was decided somewhat late in the day to fortify the town, but the only engineer available to carry out the plan was a French dancing master, La Pange, and his efforts were merely laughable. He was even more incompetent than Mirabel de Gordon who attempted to invest Stirling Castle in 1746.

When, on January 28th, news was received that Argyll had actually begun his march from Perth, though the Highlanders and common soldiers were filled with joy at the prospect of a fight, the leaders realized that their position was a perilous one, and Mar, cautious as ever, counselled retreat. It is said that a "Gentleman from the Braes of Aberdeenshire," or a "Norlander from Aberdeenshire" (possibly Glenbucket), suggested that "the loyal Clans should take the person of their monarch out of the hands of his present imbecile councillors, and then if he was willing to die like a prince, he should find there were 10,000 gentlemen in Scotland who were not afraid to die with him." (Chambers.) But this was not done.

There was, moreover, something to be said for the policy of retreat. Ormonde's expeditions had both failed to arrive, and while England and France had done nothing to assist the Jacobite cause, the Government troops having received large additions both from England and Holland, were now greatly superior in numbers to the depleted Highland army.

On January 2nd, Argyll's army was three times as large

as it had been at Sheriffmuir. Sinclair says he had about 12,000 men at the time the King landed, and "more expected daily." He had also a complete train of artillery, sent him from London, as well as guns from Berwick.

The author of *The Proceedings at Perth*, too, assures us that Mar had private information from the Regent Orléans that later he would be able to send substantial assistance, and, moreover, says that Mar also knew that some of the chiefs, whose names he does not give, were prepared at a favourable moment to surrender the person of the Chevalier to Argyll, though the truth of this last item of information may be questioned.<sup>1</sup>

In any case it was decided in full conclave on January 28th to abandon Perth, fall back upon Aberdeen, and, if necessary, upon the Highlands. Orders for the retreat were given upon the day so fatal to the Stuarts, January 30th, the retreat itself beginning next day, "the Chevalier with tears in his eyes complaining that instead of bringing him to a crown they had brought him to his Grave." (Rae.) Four days later James wrote an urgent letter to the Regent Orléans explaining the necessity for abandoning Perth and begging for help to take the offensive again.

*James III. to the Duke of Orléans. (Translation.)*

"Feb. 3, Montrose.

"I send you the Chevalier Erskine that he may explain to you our present situation, and I refer you to him in this matter, not having time to enter into full details. Our retreat from Perth was very unfortunate, but not unexpected, for during the six weeks I have been in this country I have always realized that nothing but considerable assistance in arms, ammunition and money could enable us to hold our own. Such help, sent promptly and a strong diversion in England, could however

<sup>1</sup> Sinclair's strict fidelity was also gravely doubted. (See page 208.)

enable us to repair the past. My affairs are certainly in a low state, but not lost, if you will help me without delay, but failing that, as I have always said it is not possible for us to resist in one corner of the Kingdom all the forces of England together with the foreign troops which have joined the enemy. We shall in the end be crushed by them and all this country be reduced to the utmost desolation. We all look to you as our last resource. We ask for immediate help and we cannot doubt that we shall obtain it, after all the hopes you have given me, and above all when we reflect that it is the only manner in which France can guarantee herself against the war with which she is now so visibly threatened."

It cannot be known whether while writing this, James was aware that he would have to abandon his army and return to France, but the fact remains that, twenty-four hours later, was written that long and flowery "letter of adieu to the Scotch,"<sup>1</sup> thought by many to bear the stamp of being the Earl of Mar's composition—the plan being certainly his, and forced upon the unwilling James. The letter to the Regent, above, being in French, was undoubtedly James's own composition, for when Mar was offered the seals, on the dismissal of Bolingbroke after the return to France, he at first declined the honour, owing to his ignorance of this language.

Current events must now be looked at from the Government point of view. Sir Robert Pollock, Governor of Fort William, announced in January that all the country round him was in arms, and that "John Gordon of Kerimianach (who is, of course, Glenbucket), principal officer of Lord Huntly in Badenoch, leads Huntly's men." (*S.P.* 54, 11, 9.)

The Lord Justice Clerk said on January 5th that "'tis certain the Pretender is come and severals who would not join Mar have gone to Fetteresso to wait on him, some from this side the Firth. If he can secure himself in Perth for a month, he

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *Stuart Papers*, Vol. I. 505.



shall have not only a stronger army than Mar, but assistance from abroad." The Jacobites themselves, on the other hand, having seen their King arrive alone, almost began to despair of this foreign assistance. Just at this time, James's young nephew, the Marquis of Tynemouth, son of the Duke of Berwick, reached Scotland in a small vessel with a few friends, and the Provost of Edinburgh (John Campbell) announced to London that "two little ships came off from Calais last Saturday ; one was knock to pieces on the West sands of St. Andrews and the travellers, the Marquis of Tinmouth,<sup>1</sup> Brigadier Buckley and Sir John Erskine, with eight seamen were all saved, the other with their servants, got into Dundee on Wed. yr. after. We don't hear that they have anything of value on board." (*S.P.* 54, 11, 33.) The curious part was that the wrecked vessel actually carried 100,000 ducats' worth of bars of gold sent by the King of Spain <sup>2</sup> at the urgent request of Queen Mary of Modena and the Duke of Berwick, who could not or would not come to Scotland himself to help his half-brother, but sent his young son, James's contemporary, to convey this much-needed treasure, the secret of which seems to have been wonderfully well kept. When the news was brought to Scone that the hulk, still intact, was lying unsuspected on the sands at St. Andrews, it was at first hoped to recover the Spanish gold, but Mar, always cautious in the

<sup>1</sup> One account says that the Marquis of Tynemouth landed in Scotland in December, bringing an assurance that the Chevalier himself might shortly be expected. (*Buchanan's History*, 1, 27.) Other accounts give him as one of those who landed with James at Peterhead, but these are wrong, since it is unlikely that this intrepid but delicate youth should have made two voyages to Scotland within a month, and the arrival chronicled above is the only authenticated one. He actually started from France before James did so, in a smaller and slower vessel.

After he had been left behind by his uncle on February 4th, he wandered about with Colonel Bulkeley, and ventured as far down as the Firth of Forth, whence he was lucky enough to escape to the Continent.

He writes to Mar at Avignon from St. Germain on May 1, 1716, to announce his safe return to France. He was afterwards the second Duke of Berwick, under whose care Prince Charles made his first brief campaign at Gaeta in 1734. He died, 1738, of consumption. <sup>2</sup> See page 15.

extreme, wrote to General Gordon on January 12th that "most of the Dutch are now in Fife" (the Jacobites having lost the command of the coast from the Firth of Forth to Inverness, which they had at one time enjoyed), and that too "considerable a detachment" would thus have to be sent, and "this we cannot spare from Perth, so I think we can do nothing but seem to neglect it."<sup>1</sup> The bullion was abandoned and lost to the cause, the Hanoverian troops eventually securing it. Cockburn mentions casually a little later that "a small ship was found, broken up, and they are still fishing for gold." (*S.P.* 54, 11, 38.) This was a serious loss to the Jacobite army.

In a letter of the same period the Lord Justice Clerk remarks humorously that both sides are causing dearth. "The country on this side (of the river Forth) is eaten up by our friends, the other side by our enemies."

The next letter from Argyll in the Record Office shows him in a most apologetic mood. He asks pardon for ever having expressed any opinions of his own on the conduct of the operations against Mar, and states emphatically that he never "ascribed the continuance of the Rebellion to any act of his Majesty's"; though he certainly did state categorically that it would now have been over had he been allowed to offer terms to those partisans of James who first volunteered to "come in." He had also cited as an example the conduct of King William in granting pardon to the Irish in 1689, and that too, as he says, was "a Rebellion." He had apparently been blamed for not at once announcing the arrival of "the Pretender" in Scotland; he pleads in extenuation that he was "not sure."

In a further letter he complains, with a slight show of spirit, that while he has "the name of Commander-in-Chief, the testimony of others (by whom he obviously means Cadogan) is more listened to."

Cadogan's own letter of 25th January urges an immediate

<sup>1</sup> *Stuart Papers*, I, 487.

advance from Stirling to Perth. The troops, he says, are quite ready to march, and snow will not hinder them, as three or four hundred country people could easily clear the roads. "Thaw by floods could only hinder us 4 or 5 days, and I will not mention the objections raised by others, as they are of no value." He is certain the rebels cannot now muster 5,000 men, unless Huntly and Seaforth return to join Mar, which appears unlikely. "The country towards Perth is so full of corn, there will be no want of Forage or of straw." (This statement is at variance with the opinion of the Lord Justice Clerk—just quoted.)

Then Argyll writes again. He announces that he is "quite ready to start, but cannot camp before Perth as the ground is covered with snow. He has not made any unnecessary delay, and has himself ridden out as far as Auchterarder with 200 dragoons, but they were obliged to proceed in single file through the deep snow." That the Lord Justice Clerk agreed with Argyll as to a decisive action being at present impossible is shown by his letter of January 26th in which he says, "Even if it thaws, the enemy is safe in Perth for some time." He adds, "The Duke of Argyll's going with Mr. Cadogan to view the roads put the Rebels in great confusion, and has begott a belief among them that our army is on the march, in so far that the Pretender is gone from Scoon to Glamis, some 16 miles to Eastward,<sup>1</sup> and the rebels have burnt several villages which will incommode our army for their march towards Perth."

After the Chevalier had departed from Scotland, and Argyll was able to begin his unopposed march to the North, General Cadogan writes to the Duke of Marlborough an almost unbelievable criticism of this (nominally) superior officer (*British Museum Add MSS. 9128 CXXXVII. 63*): "Feb. 4. The Duke of Argyll grows so intolerable uneasy that 'tis almost impossible to live with him any longer; he is enraged

<sup>1</sup> This was an error, James did not leave Scone till 30th January.

at the success of this expedition, though he and his creatures attribute to themselves the honour of it."

Rae, on the other hand, after detailing the daily movements of Argyll and his army from their entering Perth on February 1st to their arrival at Aberdeen a week later, and giving full details of the detachments sent in various directions from these headquarters, adds that the Duke, "having thus gloriously finished the most laborious and hard campaign that ever was known, left the command of his Majesty's troops to Lieut.-General Cadogan and returned to Edinburgh the 27th of February and in a day or two after set out for London, where he arrived on the Sixth day of March"—meeting on his way south the funeral procession of the Earl of Derwentwater. John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll, had thus nominally "quelled the Rising," though at Rae's description of the fighting as "the most laborious and hard campaign that ever was known," the ghosts of Montrose and the great Gustavus must have smiled.

Cadogan, writing to Marlborough, had more than once complained of the "very great civilities" Argyll showed to the rebels, and thought that "any Acts of Grace and mercy to rebels should pass through other hands than those of Argyll." On 31st January, after the Jacobites had evacuated Perth, and he himself, with Argyll, was about to take possession, he writes with most insubordinate triumph, "You will judge now who was the most right!" (*S.P.* 54, 11, 77.) And as Cadogan had the ear of the Government it is not surprising to learn that, in July 1717, the Duke of Argyll was superseded in all his high offices and lost his pension.

He was afterwards restored to favour and made a Field-Marshal in 1735 and Commander-in-Chief of the army for one year. Pope, writing after this date, says grandiloquently "he was born to shake alike the Senate and the Field," and he is commemorated by a most ostentatious monument in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey.



#### CHAPTER XIV

### “THE PARTIE TO REPASS THE SEAS”

THE flight of James was foreseen by his foes, if not by his friends ! On February 2nd, Argyll, with strange prescience, writes that he is “informed that the rebels desert daily and I cannot but think the Pretender will embark somewhere between Montrose and Aberdeen, if he is not well assured of support from abroad, in which case, if he can keep any number of people together, I take it, he will make his way to Inverness. . . . I am sorry we cannot overtake them—they are able to march 3 miles to our one.” (S.P. 54, 11, 81.) It seems unfortunate that this well-known characteristic of the Highlanders, to which was due the spectacular exploits of Montrose, and the fact that Prince Charles Edward, in 1745, was able to reach Derby, was only made use of by Mar in retreat.

Mar, long afterwards, had the effrontery to say (*vide* “the Earl of Mar’s Proceedings”) that it was the “accident of a vessel offering that caused his Majesty to depart from Montrose,” and had already written the same thing to Captain Straiton, on their safe arrival in France ; but it is known that the vessel had been waiting there for some days (see page 117), its presence being known to the Lord Justice Clerk, who surmised the purpose for which it was designed, and wrote, actually on February 4th, “I wish the Pretender may not have escaped, for two small vessels were lying in Montrose. I cannot think he will venture the other side of Aberdeen, for there he would be locked within land.” (S.P. 54, 11, 88.)

Mar having skilfully covered the tracks, dispatching the

baggage to Aberdeen, James left Montrose at 9 p.m. on February 4th ; two, or it is sometimes said three, ships which had recently arrived at Dundee with supplies having been sent round to Montrose for the purpose. Lord Rothes sent the news from Edinburgh to London on February 5th : “ The Pretender went last night aboard at Montrose and some of the Principal Rebels with him.” (*S.P.* 54, 11, 90.)

His last act was to draw up a commission as Commander-in-Chief for General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul, giving him full power to treat with the Government for terms of armistice, and left with him almost all the money he possessed, desiring that this should be expended for the comfort of the troops and for the relief of the inhabitants of the burned villages, this act of severity still causing him acute distress.

He also wrote a long letter to Argyll :

“ Montrose, 4th February 1716.

“ It was with the view of delivering this my ancient Kingdom from the hardships it lies under and restoring it to its former happiness and independency that brought me into this country; and all the hopes of effectuating that at this time being taken from me I have been reduced much against my inclination, but by a cruel necessity, to leave the kingdom with as many of my faithful subjects as were desirous to follow me or I able to carry with me, that so at least I might secure them from the utter destruction that threatens them since that was the only way left me to shew them the regard I had for and the sense I had of their unparalleled loyalty. Among the manifold mortifications I have had in this unfortunate expedition that of being forced to burn several villages, etc. as the only expedient left me for the public security was not the smallest. It was indeed forced upon me by the violence with which my rebellious subjects acted against me, and what they, as the first authors of it must be answerable for, not I. However as I cannot think of leaving this country without making some

provision to repair that loss, I have therefore consigned to the Magistrats of —— the sums of —— desiring and requiring of you, if not as an obedient subject, at least as a lover of your country, to take care that it be employed to the designed use, that I may at least have the satisfaction of having been the destruction and ruin of none, at a time I came to free all. I have neglected nothing to render them a free and prosperous people, and I fear they will feel yet more than I the smart of preferring a foreign yolk to that obedience they ow'd me—and what must those who have so obstinately resisted both my right and my clemency have to answer for ?

As for your own particular, you might if you had pleased, have joined interest and greatness in your own person ; but though you have refused to do that, I must earnestly request of you to do at least all in your power to save your country from utter ruin, and to be just at least to them since you are not to me.

JAMES R.

General Gordon is hereby empowered as soon as he has no further occasion for the money left in his hands for the subsistence of the troops, to forward if he thinks fitt the enclosed letter to the Duke of Argil and to fill up the blanks of my letter with the name of the town where he shall leave the money and the sume he shall leave.

JAMES R."

(*Stuart Papers.*)

But the letter is docketed by James himself as "Never sent."

With the King went the Duke of Mar, the Earl of Melfort, and Lord Drummond. It is said that the King wished to take also the Earl Marischal, Lord Tullibardine, and Lord Linlithgow, against the two latter of whom, with Mar and Drum-

mond, a Bill of Attainder had been passed; but the first would not desert his followers, though Mar says the King waited for him, and the other two were not near enough to be available. James's nephew, the young Lord Tynemouth, was also left behind; General Clephan and Sheldon and a few others followed in another ship.

In the King's "Letter of Adieu to the Scotch" occurs the sentence, "Convinced as I am that you would never abandon me, and that therefore my stay could only involve you in greater difficulties, I took the partie to repass the seas that by that I might leave such as cannot make their escape (towards which nothing on my side have been neglected) in full libertie to take the properest measures for avoiding at least utter ruine." He adds that he has taken the Duke of Mar with him on account "of his probity and experience."

The King's little vessel, the *Marie-Thérèse* of Dieppe, escaping two English men-of-war lying outside Montrose, reached Waldam, between Gravelines and Calais, six days later (Mar wrote to Captain Straiton on the 10th), and James returned to St. Germain and saw his mother. Then, having dismissed Bolingbroke, now a proved traitor to his cause,<sup>1</sup> and given his seals into the hardly safer custody of Mar (also made "first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber," February 21st), he went on to Commercy, there to bid farewell to his former host the Duke of Lorraine, who did not renew his offer of hospitality. James was now an unwelcome guest anywhere, and after remaining in hiding for some time was at last, by the united advice of his mother, Ormonde, and others, induced to retire to Avignon, and become the pensioner of the Pope. He arrived on April 2, 1716, and remained there, holding a not undignified court, for nearly a year, during which time he was seriously ill of a fistula. He never again saw his mother, who died in 1718.

<sup>1</sup> Since no attempt had been made to send the supplies so urgently asked for by General Hamilton who was dispatched to France after Sheriffmuir.



In February 1717, under pressure from the French Government, which the Pope could not longer resist—for the Regent threatened to have the “Pretender” removed from Avignon by soldiers—James left Avignon for Italy, which, with one brief visit to Spain in 1719, and another to Nancy and Avignon in 1727, on the occasion of the death of George I., was to be his home until his death nearly fifty years later. The list of Scottish officers who accompanied or followed James to Avignon still exists in MS. in the library of that city. It has not previously been printed, except in a paper by one of the present writers, in the *Miscellany* of the Scottish History Society for the year 1933. It is here given in full, in the Appendix, though some of the names are barely recognizable.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE END OF THE JACOBITE ARMY

WHEN the army, on its march to Aberdeen under General Gordon, realized that it had been abandoned both by Sovereign and Commander-in-Chief, its rage knew no bounds. Numbers of the Highlanders returned individually to their homes,<sup>1</sup> but a very orderly body of over 2,000 men marched with Gordon to Aberdeen, the Earl Marischal guarding the rear. On their arrival there, Gordon opened the sealed orders which contained James's farewell to his troops, telling them that, much against his will, he had been forced to abandon them. "Your safety and welfare was I may say with truth, my only view and I resolved not to let your courage and zeall carie you so far as to serve me for your own entire ruine—without doing any good to me or yourselves, and when as I considered there was no hopes at present of my retrieving our affairs, the whole business was to secure your lives in such a manner as to be yet again in a condition of appearing in a most favorable occasion. A cruel necessitie obliges me to leave you at this time—with the view of obtaining such succours as may effectually relieve you."

He further told them to consult their own safety as to dispersing.

This remnant of the once fine Jacobite army left Aberdeen,

<sup>1</sup> Sinclair says, "All were in confusion and abjection of spirits. No one knew what had become of intimatest friend or nearest relation," but other writers comment on the courage and resource shown; Sinclair had saved himself already and was not present.

still in good order, on February 7th, and Argyll's forces followed it and occupied the town on the next day, as had been the case at Dundee.

As it went north the army gradually melted away. A number of the more fortunate men escaped by sea from Peterhead and Fraserburgh. Others went up Strathspey and disappeared in their native fastnesses. The official *Life of the Duke of Argyll* says, "They dispersed so effectually that, tho' his Grace the Duke of Argyle used all the diligence in his power to come up with them and gave himself or his Army no rest ; yet he never could overtake one party of them, and did not in all the pursuit from Perth to the Highlands make a hundred prisoners, they kept so close together and made such expedition till they had got so far into the mountains that it was in vain for his Grace to pursue them further."

Marshal Keith states that "when the King left Montrose, it was given out that he was only gone by sea to Aberdeen and would be there before us. This took well enough with the common soldiers for some hours, but next morning when we arrived at Stonehyve (Stonehaven) where the other division of our army met us, it became public that he was gone for France."

The army in general kept up its courage. On reaching Aberdeen, "it was unanimously resolved that we should continue our march to Gordon Castle, and there consult with the Marquis of Huntly and if we found him willing to join us we should march on to Inverness—if not we should retire to the Highlands. . . . We easily perceived by his answer that there was nothing to be expected from him,<sup>1</sup> and that we must be reduced to our last shift of gaining the mountains, which was next day put in execution, and in two days' march we came to Ruthven in Badenoch which was judged the fittest place to dismiss our troops. From there every one took

<sup>1</sup> Huntly made his submission on February 10th, and delivered up Gordon Castle on February 11th.

## THE END OF THE JACOBITE ARMY

the road that pleased him best.” (*Memoirs of Field-Marshal Keith.*)

From Ruthven, on February 15th, a letter was sent to the Duke of Argyll, signed by General Gordon, James Ogilvie of Boyne, Lords Linlithgow and Southesk, and six others, asking for favourable terms of surrender, “and thus securing the obedience to the Government of so many noble men and gentlemen.” No answer was vouchsafed, and the Highlanders dispersed.

Many of them went to the Western Isles, whence some two months later the greater number of the leaders escaped to France in ships sent by James, as will be seen under their individual histories.

One or two letters and some extracts from local histories and accounts of Government proceedings may be added to this short account of the hopelessly mismanaged Jacobite Rising of the '15, the epitaph of which was written by the Lord Justice Clerk <sup>1</sup> on February 16, 1716 :

“Here is this formidable rebellion evanish like Smoak.”

*Advices from Badenoch (from a Government Agent)*

“February 25th, 1716.

“On Thursday last, being the 21 of February, the Earls of Tullibardine, Southesk, Linlithgow, Marischal, Viscount Kilsyth, Major-General Gordon, the Laird of Boyne and the Chiefs of the Clans went to Lochaber and from thence all the way to the West sea-bank ; sixty of the officers come from France were with these rebels. The Earl Marischal and his brother dined at the House of Lochiel on Sunday last the 19th and the laird of Boyne went with Glengarry to his house with a strong guard of Glengarry's men. General Gordon and the French officers resolved to pass into the I. of Skye, Marischal and his brother to Uist.” (*Memoirs of Field-Marshal Keith.*)

<sup>1</sup> S.P. 54, 11, 121.



An extract from "A Letter from an Officer in the King's (*i.e.* Jacobite) army to his friend in London," written after the disbanding of the forces, is illuminating :<sup>1</sup>

"SIR,

You seem surprised at the sudden change our affairs here have taken from what you expected by the accounts you have had from some of our friends at Edinburgh. I will therefore give you for your satisfaction a true account of the whole matter. It is plain enough that it was our business to represent our affaires there to the public to be in such a fortune as might most encourage our friends everywhere and discourage our enemies and stop them from marching against us until we were in a better condition to receive them, which we had reason to expect soon to be—by our friends joyning us as they dayly promised to do and untill we should receive the money, arms and ammunition we were every day expecting. But that time being now over, I may freely own to you that a month before the King landed the resolution was taken of abandoning Perth as soon as the enemy should march against it.<sup>2</sup> Upon the King's arrival, we expected that our friends would then certainly have joined us, both those who had formerly been with us and were gone home, or those who before had given the King's not being come as their only reason for not joyning us. But to our great misfortune we were disappointed in those hopes. . . . The rigours of the season and the great fall of snow in the hills kept, in some measure, the rest of the Highlanders from joyning us. So that our condition after the King's arrival was noways bettered, except by the new life his presence gave to the small number we had at that time together. . . ."

<sup>1</sup> This letter, though anonymous, bears a great resemblance to Mar's "Vindication" of himself published some years later.

<sup>2</sup> This had already been surmised by many observers; the resolution appears to have been taken directly after the battle of Sheriffmuir.

## THE END OF THE JACOBITE ARMY

As showing the passing of the Jacobite army, an entry in the Records of Keith states that "from the 18th December 1715 to 12th February 1716 there was no peace to goe out or in by reason of the marches and counter marches of the rebells." On February 12th the writer notes, "Upon Thursday night the 9th of this week, the rebell army consisting of about 4,000, quartered in this parish and did a world of mischief by robbing and plundering etc." On February 19th: "At this time the King's Forces having come up, our Jacobite party became calm."

Argyll reached Aberdeen on 8th February, but went no further north.

On February 11th, Gordon Castle was occupied by Lieut.-Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, who had previously taken possession of Balvenie Castle and garrisoned it. (See page 263.) On the 14th of February he proceeded to Inverness and garrisoned Brahan Castle and Borlum. On his return to Banffshire he garrisoned the Castle of Boyne and received the submission of John Gordon of Glenbucket, and on the 16th of March that of the sixteen heritors of Banff mentioned on page 173.

It was not until October that the provisions of the disarming Act were carried out.

October 22. "In terms of the Act of Parliament, the Magistrates at Banff appoint to-morrow for taking in the arms, it being not now lawful to use or bear broad sword or target, poyneard, whinger or durk, syde pistoll or gun or any other warlike weapon."

On February 14, 1716, John, Duke of Argyll, General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in North Britain, issued from Aberdeen an order to the Lord Lieutenant, deputy lieutenants, justices of the peace, and magistrates of the northern counties in these terms :

"It being probable now that the rebells are separated, that many of the gentlemen concerned in the rebellion may seek

for shelter either in their own houses or among their friends, yow are hereby desired to make diligent search for all such persons who yow are to use your utmost endeavours to apprehend and retain in custody."

The result of such search was almost negative.

Many fugitives got away from the Morayshire coast to Orkney, and thence to France, amongst them being the Master of Sinclair, Colonel John Hay, and the Englishman, Colonel Ecklin.

Brigadier Grant disarmed the country so effectually that, in 1745, the Whig Grants found themselves without weapons. This disarming took place throughout the spring of 1716. At Banff the warlike stores brought in and delivered up amounted to 66 guns, 15 pistols, 26 swords, 3 dirks, and 4 Danish axes or halberts. At Cullen there were delivered 136 guns, 74 pistols, 9 barrels of guns, 219 pistols, 37 halberts, and 18 targets. All these were stored in the steeple of Keith. In some parts of the country, as is well known, however, a practice was made of importing obsolete "guns" from Holland, which were duly delivered up, while the more serviceable weapons were hidden in the thatch for future use.

Brigadier Alexander Grant, who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of the county of Banff, wrote to his brother George, at Castle Grant, from Stirling, on December 22, 1715, that he hears some of his own tenants were among the rebels, and insists that they are to be kept in prison and not admitted to bail. If they cannot maintain themselves, he will allow them one pennyworth of bread per day, but he wishes "to prosecute them and endeavour to make examples of them, that so future ages shall stand in awe of following their footsteps."

George Grant was one of those who had been concerned, with Duncan Forbes and Lord Lovat, in the retaking of Inverness; he had also written to his brother-in-law, Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, who was to take special care of Balvenie Castle, "Surely you cannot want provisions so long

as there are so many rebels who have dwellings in your neighbourhood."

Colonel William Grant was with Argyll on the march north from Stirling, 25th January 1716, and had left a Journal of the route. It was published anonymously, under the title of *A True and Impartial Account of the Conduct of the well-affected in the North during the Late Rebellion*, and was not known at the time to have been written by Colonel William Grant, but the MS. of it is now at Ballindalloch.

Another extract from this account picturesquely describes a part of the retreat of the Jacobite army. "Feb. 13. When the Highland clans in their retreat from Aberdeen, marched through the Upper end of Strathspey, the countrymen there went immediately to arms and marched on their wing, the waters of Spey only being between them, but then passable by Ice. This added to the former pannick Impressions of these rebels, so that without doing harm, they marched with all possible expedition to Badenoch."

This, however, is only Colonel Grant's view. For a beaten and retreating force whose sovereign and whose nominal leader had both abandoned it, to seek safety for themselves, the Jacobite army, ably led by General Alexander Gordon, seems to have displayed singularly little "panic." It held together with admirable steadiness until all fresh efforts seemed hopeless, when it quietly disbanded itself at Ruthven in Badenoch, as already shown, a few days after the date of the above letter.

Colonel Grant also gives in full the edict previously issued by the deputies of Brigadier Alexander Grant to all the heritors and gentlemen of Banffshire, pointing out that "all those who comply with Mar's edict mendicating vast sums for supporting the Rebellion and concluding with impotent threats, thus aiding, assisting and comforting the Pretender or his abettors, are committing Treason within the statute, and that We as his Majesty's servants will proceed against such who aid and



comfort the Rebellion as Traitors and rebels. Our business will be to guard the country from such lawless Robbery and Sorning as the Rebels are now forced to and to demean every such person or persons as comply with their thievish demands as Rebels and Traitors."

In the early part of 1716 several courts were held in various parts of the North, especially in Aberdeenshire, at which proofs were given that a number of the rank and file had been "forced out" against their will.

For instance, at Alford, 15th March 1716, by a warrant from the Duke of Argyll, a Justice of Peace Court was held by William Forbes of Craigievar, Arthur Forbes of Breda, and Archibald Forbes of Putachie (Castle Forbes), all staunch Whigs,<sup>1</sup> "whereat appeared David Lumsden of Cushnie and desired that the said justices would call witnesses to prove that Harry Lumsden and Robert Reid, vassals to the Earle of Mar, with 13 of the said David's own tenants, who were all taken prisoners at Preston, were forced out against their will by the threats of the Earle of Mar." This was done, and six reliable witnesses testified that "all these men did, in order to be free of going out into this unhappy rebellion which was much against their inclination, was to flee from their houses for several days and that by my Lord Mar's order, parties were sent who did set fire to their houses and cornyards, and that they were then taken prisoners by the said parties and carried to Braemar and forced to join the Army." This evidence is quoted in *Historic Earldoms of Scotland*, the writer of which goes on to say that "the Justices concluded that force had caused these unhappy prisoners to be in the Rebellion." They were, however, all transported, though some eventually returned to Scotland.

A similar court was held at Charleston of Aboyne in the

<sup>1</sup>The two latter were brothers of the thirteenth Lord Forbes, Whig Lieutenant of Aberdeenshire. Two of their nephews were Jacobites, viz. James, afterwards sixteenth Lord Forbes, and his brother Archibald.

following year, and proofs given that a number of the tenants of the Earl of Aboyne were forced out in like manner by the orders of John Gordon, tutor of Aboyne. (*Lord Huntly's Papers.*)

Gordon of Glenbucket had been specially active in driving out the tenants of his chief, Lord Huntly, while "Black Jock" of Inverernan, and his brother, of Skellater, were responsible for the forcing of many others. The Government recognized this, and did not destroy the homes of the lesser men nor lay waste the whole districts with fire and sword, as was done after the '45.

Letters preserved at Brodie Castle show the preparations made in Morayshire by calling out the militia, etc., soon after the beginning of the Rising, and the precautions taken by the Earl of Sutherland after the battle of Sheriffmuir, and after Inverness had been recovered from the Jacobites. Brodie House, as it was then called, was fortified and garrisoned to stand a siege, after which the name was changed to Castle.

Lord Lovat's and Lord Reay's men, as well as Sutherland's, were quartered on the country round for some time, and the Government remained nervous.

The following are Lord Sutherland's orders, addressed to the "Lairds of Brodie, Leathen and Whitehill," from Inverness, 27th November 1715 :

"GENTLEMEN,

It is resolved that the forces here should be march'd towards Elgin in three divisions, the first will be with you at Forres on Thursdayes night, the second on Fridays, the third on Saturday—they will require for their subsistence, the first, twelve bolls and a half, the second, ten bolls, the third, eight bolls meall, wherefore you are to provyde these Quantities wherever you can find them and have them ready at Forres against the days appointed upon your own credites

and the expense shall be exactly refounded you out of the common supply. . . . In case provisions cannot be trusted to in Elgin until we be masters there you will not fail to bring a hundred bolls more together at Forres to be carried along with the forces.

I am gentlemen,

your most humble serv<sup>t</sup>.

SUTHERLAND."

(*Brodie Papers.*)

Another letter was written five days later from Kinsterie, 2nd December, "To the Laird of Brodie," pointing out that the troops must have meat as well as meal, and mentioning the number of sheep required, and that a flesher (butcher) must be provided to kill them. A wether or young ewe was to serve for ten men. (*Ibid.*)

And from Inverness, on 23rd December 1715, Sutherland writes again regarding the provisioning of the town of Inverness :

"To the much honoured the Laird of Brodie.

SIR,

It being absolutely necessary that this place should be well provided and that the Rebels should have as little to subsist upon as wee can, I desire you may send hither all the meal and dried corn you possibly can. I have written to Lethen and I would have you two, with the conveance of Kinsterie and others well-affected to the Government, lay yourselves out to have it effectually done. Your own safety as well as that of this place depending upon it. Lett me know from time to time your newes and believe me to be sincerely,  
Dear Sir,

Yr most humble servant,

SUTHERLAND."

(*Ibid.*)

## THE END OF THE JACOBITE ARMY

A letter of four days later is concerned with Brodie's own safety :

"Inverness, 27 Dec. 1715.

"To the Laird of Brodie.

DEAR SIR,

I had yesterday your letter. I nowayes doubt of your diligence in what relates to the publick. I would have you garrison your house if the rebells come once to Elgin. I doe not think they will be soe mad as to come this length, for Coll. Grant has reinforced the garrison of Balvenie and is resolved to force the people thereabouts to return to their homes by destroying their country if they come to Murray. Do not be uneasie—the ship designed for me with arms and money is in Leith Road and stays to convey to Cromarty two thousand of the forces to joyn me. I hope you shall have a good account of the Rebells to the West very soon."

Two months later, Brodie House itself was really threatened, and Sutherland writes from Inverness, 9th February 1716 :

"I am glad to find by yours of the 6th that you are making such preparations to give the Rebells a warm reception. I shall doe all I can to raise the siede if they presume to make one. I never designed anything but for your service, and if you can doe it by yourself I am pleased. The Rebells are 'a rouving,' after having left Perth, but whither I cannot tell. The King has been pleased to accept of the Earl of Seaforth's submission if he deliver himself up to me at Inverness. I expect his Lop. arrives to-night. I hope the Marquess of Huntly will have the same thoughts and follow the same example—it being a family I have a sincere respect for. We have illuminations and ringing of bells for the success of the King's arms and have fired the cannon of Castle and ship—



the King has been pleased to empower me to assure my Lord Lovat of a remission and to return him and all the honest gentlemen who have served his Majesty so faithfully in this connection thanks. The more they have or doe to show their zeal the more they deserve it. Adieu dear Brodie,

Yr most humble servant,

SUTHERLAND."

(*Brodie Papers.*)

In a letter of 11th February he returns Brodie thanks for good news of the departure of the remnants of the Jacobite army from Morayshire, and adds, "Allow me to call your Seat Castle Brodie instead of House, since it has been garrisoned in soe good a cause." (Apparently the actual siege never took place, as there is no family record of it. The garrisoning seems to have been sufficient.)

An amusing claim by the Laird of Brodie against the Government also still exists at Brodie.

(All the items also appear in Sutherland's own accounts, which amount to £10,000 Scots for the whole county.)

Ane accompt of expences and loan by James Brodie of that Ilk, since August 1715 that the rebellion brake out for the service and support of his Majesty King George and his Government.

<i>Imp.</i>	for keeping a strong Garrison in the House of Brodie for 2 months till the Rebels went to Perth in order to preserve my arms and amunition from the enemy, being threatned in the strictest terms to surrender by Huntly's letters yet extant . . . .	£666 13 4
<i>It.</i>	to ane hundred guns bought by me and given out for the service of the King and government, each gun eight punds scottis .	800 0 0

# THE END OF THE JACOBITE ARMY

<i>It.</i>	To ammunition conforme 50 lb. weight, powder yroff with ball given my Lord Sutherland . . . . .	£133	6	8
<i>It.</i>	Maintenance to 1,200 men of the King's forces under command of Earl of Sutherland being quartered upon my land as they passed to Elgin and repassed @ 3 pecks of meal and a wedder each ten men, the meal @ sixpence a boll and the wedders 40 shillings scots each being in heall . . . .	266	13	4
<i>It.</i>	to my expenses for intelligence and at appointments for his Majesty's service . . .	66	13	4
<i>It.</i>	Waiting of the Lord Lieut. at Elgin, Inverness or quhever he called us . . . . .	100	0	0
To	what Damages my tenands suffered by the forces their outrages and pillaging q <sup>b</sup> could not be restrained by their commanders . .	200	0	0
To	my proportion of a loan to the Govt. out of the Shire of Murray raised by the Lord Lieut. for the sustenance of the forces . . .	666	13	4
To	q <sup>t</sup> I gave out of my pocket for subsistence of some men quere <sup>1</sup> in great strait . . .	60	0	0

The value of some of the items is curious. A gun was worth 8 pounds Scots, that is 13s. 4d., and a sheep 40 shillings Scots, which is 3s. 4d. Attendance on the Lord Lieutenant was estimated to have cost £8, 6s. 8d.

The account was not added up by Brodie, but comes to £2,960 Scots, or £246, 13s. 4d. sterling. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>1</sup> Quho were = who were.

## CHAPTER XVI

### AFTER THE RISING

IN spite of the way in which the Earl or Duke of Mar<sup>1</sup> had ruined the whole Rising and of his having left them in the lurch, many of the Highland leaders, and, perhaps, rather the Highlanders than his own fellow Jacobites of Aberdeenshire, still looked on him as their head, and among the Stuart Papers are large numbers of letters to the man who was now taking his ease in Paris, and, later, at Avignon, while they still skulked and starved in the outer Isles of the Hebrides.

The following letter, written two months later from Clanranald, refers first to the grievance against Bolingbroke, that he made no attempt to have sent to Scotland the supplies of arms and ammunition so urgently demanded after James's own landing at Peterhead. As far as can be ascertained, of all the things General George Hamilton was commissioned to have sent from Paris, the only goods actually dispatched were some cases of wine consigned to Mar (and these, probably, fell into Government hands).

It shows also how elusive hopes were for a while kept alive by Huntly—quite without foundation—and how he was finally looked on as a traitor by the rest. The letter ends by begging for other vessels to be sent to carry them off, which was eventually done.

<sup>1</sup> See page 193.



*By kind permission of the Countess of Dalhousie.*

JAMES, 4TH EARL OF PANMURE.





*Clanranald to the Duke of Mar.*

“1716 April 11 (22). Ormaclade (in South Uist).

“It has pleased God to send Mr. Sheridan, with what he had in charge, safe to this place.

The seasonable supply (which) has been so graciously transmitted to us by his Majesty at this time, deserves our most humble and grateful acknowledgments for so gracious and bountiful a favour. We have therefore, such of us as are here present, presumed to lay our humble thanks at the feet of our Sovereign (whom we pray God long to preserve) in a letter enclosed to your Grace.

I am sorry to find his Majesty's affairs have been neglected by those<sup>1</sup> who had the direction of them abroad, at a time that arms and warlike stores were so necessary for his service as they were during his short abode with us. In this as well as other things we find the difference of the ministers and (it) makes us hope that your Grace's diligence and safe conduct will make you yet an happy instrument in restoring our King, and make your country happy.

The ship that was to come by the Orcades we have had no accounts of yet, which makes me apprehensive about her, and the two others your Grace mentions was ordered to Fraserburgh and Peterhead, were happy if they could return *Re infecta*, for all the ports and harbours upon that coast were blocked up by ships of war in less than forty-eight hours after his Majesty's departure.

The army marched from Montrose betwixt nine and ten o'clock at night the 4th of February, and arrived at Bervy at peep of day next morning, where the foot took a little refreshment, but most of the horse went that night to Aberdeen. They began their march again about eleven o'clock and came to Stonehyve that evening betimes. Monday the 6th we

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Bolingbroke and others.

marched from thence very early and came to Aberdeen about 12 o'clock. At two o'clock a meeting of the noblemen, general officers, and chiefs of clans was appointed to be kept at Marishall's Hall, which was punctually observed. The house was very full, and General Gordon produced the King's letter and commission which being audibly read, discovered the King's departure, which till then had been a secret not only to most of the assembly, but to most of the whole army. There was a visible alteration appeared immediately in men's minds as well as countenances, and I was both sorry and vexed to see the effects it produced in some, contrary to what I could believe or expect. For my own part I was the less surprised, that, though I have but little penetration, I had long foreseen things must have ended in this or a more fatal point, which made me now bless the happy genius that saved our King, though he could not save the country.

Upon reading his Majesty's letter, General Gordon produced another from my Lord Huntly, addressed to the General himself, thinking it should find him at Perth. This letter being full of loyal protestations, and I think insinuating that he had already got some of his men together in order to attack Inverness, it was thought advisable to put a delay to a letter that was to be sent the Duke of Argyle for a general indemnity, till it should be known whether his Lordship should join us to attack Inverness to enable us by taking it, to make the better capitulation, or go into such other measures as should be thought conducting thereto, upon which Colonel Hay was sent with the letter to know his mind, with instructions to meet us the 2nd day following at Huntly with the Marquis's answer.<sup>1</sup>

We began our march from Aberdeen about ten o'clock on Tuesday morning, being the fifth day (really February 7th,

<sup>1</sup> Huntly was actually at this time corresponding both with the Earl of Sutherland and Lord Lovat. His answer to the Jacobite army was completely discouraging, as has been already seen.

but the fifth since leaving Montrose). The foot quartered that night at Inverury, and the horses at Old Meldrum, and late that same night the Duke of Argyle, with most of his cavalry, came into Aberdeen. Wednesday, being the eighth day, we marched about ten in the morning from Old Meldrum and Inverury and came that night to Strabougry (Strathbogie) where Colonel Hay met us with Huntly's answer, which was in substance that, since he saw no way of keeping the army together, he would not engage in anything that would make his condition worse, but that he would endeavour to get the best terms he could for himself and vassals. On Thursday the 9th we marched from Strabogy to Keith, from whence again the Earl Marishall was sent to the Marquis, but the effect of his Lordship's embassy produced no other effect than that of Colonel Hay's. One circumstance I must not forget to tell your Grace to the Marquis's eternal glory ! which is, that upon the certainty of our marching northward to his countries, he caused immediately dismount the cannon he had got from Aberdeen for the expedition of Inverness, and caused to bury them and burn the carriages, on pretence the enemy might not get them, but in reality lest we should attack Inverness with them.

At Keith we left poor Sir John McLean,<sup>1</sup> who was so spent ere we came that length it was not possible to carry him further. He died that same day month at Gordon Castle and was buried as I am informed at Elgin. The tenth in the morning we marched from thence to Glenriness where Generals Cook and Gaydons came up to us with about sixty officers that had gone from Aberdeen to Peterhead and Fraserbrough to get shipping in those places to go abroad, but a man of war came before the harbour that very night

<sup>1</sup>Not the Colonel Maclean who betrayed the plans of the Duke of Ormonde (he was in the English army in the south), but the Laird of Duart, fourth baronet, who had been present at Killiecrankie as well as at Sheriffmuir.



and blocked it up. That night also the Marquis received Colonel Grant and a garrison of his men into Gordon Castle.

Upon the 11th we marched from Glenriness to Stradoun (Strathdon) and from thence to Kincairn in Strathspey and some to Badenoch upon Sunday the 12th.

The bad weather that took us there kept us in that country from the 12th till the 16th of that month. Upon the 14th the noblemen, General Gordon and the clans had a meeting at Rivan (Ruthven) in Badenoch, where it was agreed to send a letter to Argyle about a general indemnity as was resolved before at Aberdeen. After the letter was signed it was left with General Gordon, who stayed behind at Cluny McPherson's house, to be forwarded. All the Athole and Breadalbine men having left us, some at Aberdeen some at Inverury, the clans who till now kept in a body together, from hence went by different routes to their respective countries.

Argyle returned to Aberdeen and took post for London. Cardugan (Cadogan) who has taken upon him the command of the forces, stayed behind, and General Weightman sent to Inverness with 3,000 regular forces. The Marquis of Huntly, my Lord Rollo with several others delivered themselves up to him in that town and is sent from thence under guard to Edinburgh. Its believed will be sent from thence to London. We had no return as yet to our letter to Argyle nor do we expect it, for its now past doubt that no other terms is to be expected, but to give up our arms and our persons at discretion, which some have already done that are now upon their repentance. Frazerdeall and Powry how<sup>1</sup> (who) rendered themselves among the first, are advised by their friends in the Government, if possible to make their escape otherwise they will be sure to meet with Preston mercy. Some hundreds

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who had "brought out" the Frasers before the return from France of Simon, Lord Lovat (see page 305), and Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, who with his son Archibald was subsequently among the Jacobites at Avignon.

of the common sort taken at that place are sent to America, which they give out will be the fate of the clans when they can be taken.

By my last from General Gordon of the 29th ultimo from Glengarry, and some other papers sent alongst, General Weightman was marched from Inverness, and Cardugan from the South, in order to join their forces at Rivan in Badenoch, the 5th instant and to march directly from thence to Lochaber with their whole body consisting of 3,000 foot and 500 horse in order to exterminate all the clans that will not give up their arms, which I am told most of Appin's men have done already to Colonel Clypton (Clayton) who with 400 men is sent against Appin and Glenco.

My Lord Seaforth, who is resolved to act an honourable part in concert with his neighbours,<sup>1</sup> will join Glengary, Locheall (Lochiel) my men upon the main land, and I believe Keppoch, with General Gordon at their head, to give what opposition they are able to the enemy in case of their nearer approach. 600 men with some frigates and small boats from Clyde and Argyleshire are ordered to attack the Isles. If there comes no more I hope we shall be able to give a good account of that number, though at the same time, they are sufficient to hinder our joining our friends upon the continent.

Here I shall lay before your Grace (though I do not see how it can be done, by the situation that matters seem to me to be in at present) that if his Majesty could procure two or three ships of good force to cruise among our Islands they would be of great use to his service, for by these means our Islands would not only be preserved but the inhabitants at liberty to join our friends on any occasion."

Endorsed as brought by Captain Sheridan to Paris, and received at Avignon 19th May 1716.

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, he was prepared to go back upon the capitulation he had already made to the Government, and eventually did so.

In an Edinburgh newspaper of March 3rd it is stated :

“ 120 gentlemen of the Horse army, with whom were Lord Duffus, Sir George Sinclair, General Ecklin, etc., rode with all speed to Burgh, (Burghead) in Moray where they embarked in open boats for Caithness who did not know how to dispose of their horses, upon which General Ecklin immediately shot his through the heart and 15 more followed his example.”<sup>1</sup>

No further captures were made after this date, and with the exception of those who were imprisoned in Carlisle after Preston, and were subsequently released, few of the lesser lairds suffered appreciably for their participation in the Rising, though the Dutch are reported to have “made a desert” wherever they went, and the Castleton of Braemar was burnt. The estates of the Earl Marischal and of Mar, Panmure, and Southesk, and several others, were forfeited and sold, but those of the well-known General Gordon and of Farquharson of Inverey escaped by the lucky accident of wrong Christian names in the Act of Attainder. (See page 234.) The fury of the Government was chiefly directed against the Jacobites taken at Preston, some thirty of whom were executed. Four Scots lords were condemned to be beheaded, but only one, Kenmure, actually suffered.

Lord Pitsligo, who lived to lead another forlorn hope in the Rising of the Forty-five, thirty years later, was less fortunate. He was attainted in the Act of 1746 as Alexander,

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-General Thomas Ecklin, who had come over from France with money for the cause. He had formerly been in the English army, but had been dismissed, possibly for Jacobite sympathies. He was in Perth when the King arrived on January 8, 1716. Mar wrote to Glenbucket on 13th January from Scone: “The King having thought fit to send General Ecklin to assist Lords Huntly and Seaforth in the reduction of Inverness and his other enemies there, I must recommend you to be as assisting to him as you can.” (*Stuart Papers*.) James also wrote to Huntly on 18th January, desiring him to “instruct Ecklin and put him *au fait* of all that’s necessary.” (*Ibid.*) All that Ecklin did was to go off from Gordon Castle with the Master of Sinclair and escape, as above related. He was afterwards with King James in Avignon.

Lord Pitsligo, the name by which he was always known, though the correct title was Lord Forbes of Pitsligo. A plea of mistaken nomenclature was entered in his case, and with equal justification; it was allowed by the Court of Session in Edinburgh, November 16, 1749, but when the case was carried to the House of Lords the decision was reversed on 1st February 1750 and the veteran Jacobite became a homeless wanderer, though never captured, and died in the house of his son on 21st December 1762, aged eighty-four.

A number of Banffshire lairds surrendered at Banff, March 1716. They were by that time surrounded by Government troops and further escapes were impossible.

These were—

George Gordon of Buckie.

George Gordon of Glastirem.

Harry Gordon of Avochie (really Aberdeenshire).

Alexander Gordon of Glengerrack.

Charles Hay of Rannes.

John Hay of Muldavit.

Alexander Anderson of Arradoul.

John Abernethie of Mayen.

John Stewart of Drumin.

Alexander Keith of Northfield.

Sir James Abercromby of Birkenbog.

George Abercromby, younger of Skeith.

Adam Gordon of Balgowan (Aberdeenshire).

Sir James Gordon of Park.

Andrew Stewart of Auchlunkart.

John Ross of Allanbuie.

They seem to have been dealt with in a very lenient spirit.

In a letter from the Lord Justice Clerk on September 8, 1716, to Lord Townshend, the former says that he has "been informed that there were several heritors of the county of Banff who had been in arms for the Rebellion, had surrendered themselves and were made prisoners but were now at liberty.



“The story was that these Gentlemen surrendered themselves at Banff to the Deputy Lieutenant and gave up their horses and arms that they had in the Rebellion with them. The Deputy Lieutenant delivered them to the Commanding Officer at Banff for the time being and, as the Troops were relieved, the prisoners were delivered to each succeeding commander, but at last a detachment of Wills’ regiment is ordered to march from that place with no party to relieve them, the commander delivered a list of the prisoners to the Magistrates of Banff and they, not being committed to the Tolbooth, but kept in Lodgings under Centinell, the Magistrates took no further notice of them and they are all retired (*i.e.* gone home). I believe many of them are yet in the Country—if the Government thinks fitt to enquire after them. I thought it my duty to give you notice of this.” (*S.P.* 54, 12, 165.)

The Justices of the Peace being many of them friends and even relations of these Jacobite lairds, the latter seem not to have been further pursued or molested in any way.

The prisoners from Edinburgh, Stirling, and elsewhere were dispatched to Carlisle in September 1716, there to stand their trials before English judges and juries, in flagrant violation of the Articles of the Act of Union. A full list of them will be found in Appendix V. ; not one of these was executed.

The more kindly Whigs had much compassion on the prisoners in England. Duncan Forbes wrote to his brother, Mr. John Forbes of Culloden, Provost of Inverness :

“Edinburgh, 16 Nov. 1716.

“DEAR BROTHER,

I have written once to-day already—the design of this is to acquaint you that a contribution is carrying on for the relief of the poor prisoners in Carlisle from their necessitous condition.

It is certainly Christian and by no means disloyall, to

sustain them in their indigent estate untill they are found guilty. The law has brought them to England to be tryed by foreign Jurys, so far it is weel. But no law can hinder a Scotsman to wish that his countrymen not hitherto condemned, should not be a derision to Strangers or perish for want of necessary defence or sustenance out of their own Country. Therefore if any contribution is carryed on for the above purpose with you, it is fit you should give it all the countenance you can, by exhortation and example.

The King's best friends do not scruple it here.

I am, Yours etc.,

DUN. FORBES."

Duncan Forbes, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, lived, as is well known, to be the main cause of the failure of the Rising thirty years later, in which the hopes of the Stuarts were for ever extinguished, but then also was compassionate to prisoners and beaten foes, and will go down to history as the man stigmatized by Cumberland (on his deathbed) as "that old woman who talked to me about Humanity!"

Others in Edinburgh would seem to have been equally pitiful, for in the Sederunt Book of the Incorporation of Bakers of the Canongate occurs the following :

"21 September 1716.

"The whilk day John Young present deacon, Charles Haig box-master, masters and remanent members of the incorporation of the baxters of the Canongate, being mett and considering a representation given in to them for the misfortunate prisoners lately conveyed up to Carlisle in order to tryall for the late rebellion, craveing the trade would be pleased to give contribution, as others doe, for the said gentlemen in straits, and likewise considering the practice of other Incorporations in this matter both in Cannongate and Edin-

burgh, Doe unanimously without any contradictory vote ordain the boxmaster to pay out for the use of the said prisoners the sum of four pound sterling.”<sup>1</sup>

The following, printed in *Chambers's Edinburgh*, also shows the sympathy evoked :

“Several of the rebel gentlemen, confined in the Tolbooth in 1716, were fortunate in escaping; a fact on which there was lately thrown a flood of light when in a Manuscript list of Subscriptions for the relief of the rebel gentlemen at Carlisle was found the name of the Guidman of the Tolbooth down for a good sum.”

One William Lindsay, writing from Paris in 1721, states that he was imprisoned in Edinburgh in 1716 as a Jacobite, and that “the Lord Justice Clerk caused burning matches to be put to my fingers, to extort a confession, but I thank God I was capable of keeping my own secrets.”<sup>2</sup> No other instance of this sort was ever heard of.

A letter of the year 1717 from an informer to the Lord Justice Clerk gives evidence that Jacobitism still smouldered for a little while in the North.

(Undated, but from internal evidence  
written in the Summer or Autumn of  
1717.)

“MY LORD,

Having received the enclosed—I must again humbly beg your Lordship's pardon for sending the same forward.

There are accounts from some places in the north that the Jacobites are again turning very Insolent, and particularly in the Shires of Banff and Murray. So that such as made honest dutiful appearance for the King's interest are even now in great hazard of their lives and some of them have been insulted. While at the same time within an hour's travelling

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished MSS. in the City Chambers.

<sup>2</sup> *Stuart Papers*.

of the Garrison at Gordon Castle there are residing two popish bishops viz. Bruce alias Nicolson and Gordon. Also, priests, Fraser, Irving and Donaldson ; yea two of these were apprehended some time ago but suffered to escape. At Elgin the rebels are very publick and find shelter there. That Town signalized their zeal for the Pretender in putting out a whole troop of horse called the Elgin troop, besides their foot soldiers. The ill-affected in that town had a bonfire on the 29th of May whereat right disloyal toasts were drunk, as also on the 10th of June another bonfire was there at night and no small revelling made by the Rebels by drinking at night their usual healths. James Gordon, brother to Major General Gordon is going through the Country to arms, and Mr. Chalmers a minister there is not in saifety to go to that side of the parish where he lives to exercise his ministry and yet the Garrison of Strathbogie is within 6 miles of James Gordon's dwelling. I hear Mr. Paterson Principal of Marishall's College is just dying<sup>1</sup> and that interest is making or to be made at Court to have Mr. Colin Campbell Minister at Aberdeen to be principal there. Some of the rebell's factors and Doers are going about and procuring from tennents rights to the two years rents that fall to you by law. (*S.P.* 54, 10, 178.)

Very shortly after this was passed the Act of Pardon, 6th of May 1717, which took effect that year, and excepted only a very few persons by name (*S.P.* 33, 30, 149), showing that the authorities considered Scotland to be pacified, since the only notable Highlander among them was the famous Rob Roy, whose clan had been outlawed since the days of Charles I.

James Stuart lived on in Rome for another fifty years, but the fires of Jacobitism, as far as the greater part of the country was concerned, were apparently extinguished until the trumpet call of July 1745 was to rekindle them again for the last glorious but unsuccessful effort.

<sup>1</sup> He died in 1717.





## PART II



HERE follow personal particulars of fifteen of the protagonists in the Rising, illustrated by letters and much hitherto unpublished material, from public and private sources.

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# I

## JOHN, EARL OF MAR, JACOBITE DUKE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

THE earl of the Rising of 1715 is variously described as 6th Earl of Mar of the creation in 1565 by Queen Mary's charter, or 27th Earl of Mar, premier earl of Scotland, the origin of whose title is "lost in antiquity." He was also 11th Lord Erskine of Mar, and *Ruvigny's Peerage* makes him 23rd or 6th !

The two titles existing at the present day of (1) the Earl of Mar, and (2) the Earl of Mar and Kellie are somewhat confusing, and will be made clearer by the accompanying tree.

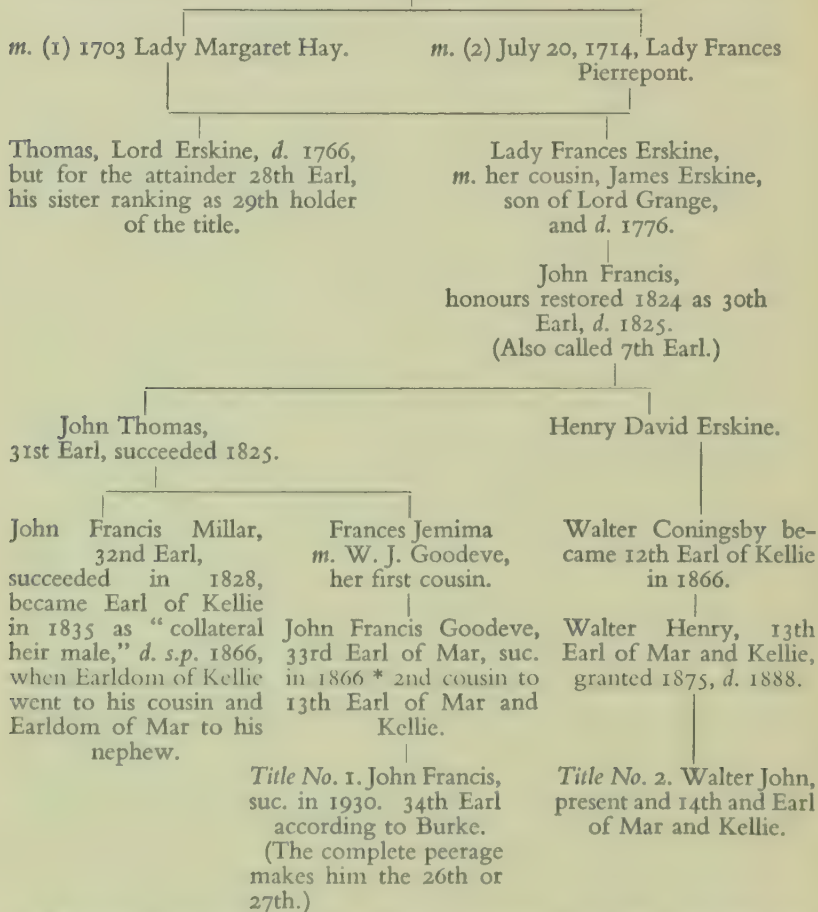
The holders of both titles descend from Lady Frances Erskine, daughter of John, Earl of Mar of the "'15," who married her first cousin, James Erskine, son of Lord Mar's brother, Lord Grange,<sup>1</sup> and to their son the attainted title was restored in 1824 as 30th earl. The father of the holder of title No. 1 Earl of Mar, John Francis Goodeve Erskine, succeeded his uncle, John Francis Millar, the 32nd earl (who was also Earl of Kellie), as 33rd Earl of Mar in 1866, but this title being derived through his mother and uncle, the second title of Earl of Kellie (a male fief) went to the next male heir, their first cousin, Walter Coningsby, who became 12th Earl of Kellie, and in 1875 his son Walter Henry successfully claimed the right to bear the title (No. 2) of Mar and Kellie, which *his* son now holds.

The present Earl of Mar is therefore fifth in descent from Lady Frances, and the present Earl of Mar and Kellie is of the same generation, the two earls being third cousins.

<sup>1</sup> Husband of the Lady Grange who was sent a prisoner to St. Kilda on suspicion of betraying her husband's secrets. She went mad and died there.

## THE MAR FAMILY

John, Earl of Mar, 27th Earl, or more frequently called the 6th,  
*b.* 1675, succeeded in 1689, *d.* 1732  
 (created Jacobite Duke, October 22, 1715, and December 13, 1722.)



\* The title of Earl of Mar was *confirmed* to J. F. Goodeve, now Erskine-Goodeve, in 1885.

The Mar of the '15 was known to his contemporaries as "Bobbing John," a soubriquet usually considered to be justified by his frequent change of political parties. Some, however, hold that he had also a nervous affection of the head, as well as being slightly deformed, though the latter characteristic, if a fact, is carefully ignored in his portraits, which make him strikingly handsome.

His sister Jean, who married Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, was stated to be a hunchback.

John was born at Alloa House, 1675. His father was Charles, 26th Earl of Mar, and his mother Lady Mary Maule, only daughter of George, 2nd Earl of Panmure.

He succeeded his father on the 23rd May 1689. The latter, though he had assured King James II. of his "unswerving loyalty" in June 1686, had later somewhat inclined towards the party of the reigning English sovereign, *i.e.* William III. The guardians of the young earl, therefore, to prove his Whiggery, and in company with many of those who afterwards were his Jacobite friends, were among the signatories of the Association acknowledging William's title. The young Mar took his seat in the Scottish Parliament, 8th September 1696, and definitely attached himself to "the King's party," being made a Privy Councillor in 1697, and a Knight of the Thistle on 10th August 1706. In 1699 he was appointed Keeper of Stirling Castle like all his forbears.

In the second year of Queen Anne's reign he married his first wife, Lady Margaret Hay, daughter of Thomas, sixth Earl of Kinnoull, who though he became, like Mar himself, one of the commissioners for carrying out the Act of Union, yet was really of the Jacobite party, and later was one of those thrown into prison in Edinburgh by the Government at the beginning of the Rising of 1715.<sup>1</sup> In 1707 Lady Margaret died at the age of twenty-one, leaving an infant son, Thomas,

<sup>1</sup> He was not released till 1716. He was the father of John Hay—one of Mar's lieutenants in 1715, and afterwards the Jacobite Earl of Inverness.



Lord Erskine, who lived until 1766, but never bore the title of Earl of Mar, owing to his father's attainder.<sup>1</sup> A few days before the death of Queen Anne, John, Earl of Mar, married again, this time the daughter of a definitely Whig family, i.e. Lady Frances Pierrepont, daughter of Evelyn, Duke of Kingston, and sister of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.<sup>2</sup> By her he had one daughter, Lady Frances Erskine, who married her cousin, James Erskine, son of Lord Grange, and in their son the family honours were restored.

Besides his activities in public life, John, Earl of Mar, who was a man of culture and taste, devoted himself to the beautifying of his estate. He enlarged his fine house of Alloa with the assistance of the celebrated architect, James Gibbs, who in recognition of Lord Mar's patronage and introductions left the greater part of his fortune to the Erskine children. The gardens of Alloa House became famous, and were very dear to Mar's heart. A letter exists in the Public Record Office (*S.P.* 54, Bundle 9, 101), from Mar to Argyll, in October 1715, asking him to see that as little damage as possible be done to the gardens of Alloa during the campaign, and adds that Bruce of Kennett, being a young man, had not been careful in this respect, while Colonel Cathcart, another of the Government leaders, being himself a landed proprietor, had treated them with care, and that Mar himself in similar circumstances would respect the gardens of Argyll!

Mar, as has been said, was energetic in promoting the Act of Union ; in fact it was he who first presented to the Scottish Parliament the draft of this measure.

Among the many patriotic objections to the measure (which became law on May 1, 1707), was the fact that in spite of the Act of Settlement of 1701 (by which the crown was to

<sup>1</sup> He was educated at Westminster school, but passed his holidays with his attainted father in France. Letters from him are among the Stuart Papers at Windsor.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Mar became a lunatic in 1730, but survived until 1761 in the care of her notable sister.

pass after the death of William, then a widower, and Anne, then childless, to the house of Hanover), the Scottish Parliament, which had not passed a similar Act, had been till this date legally able to recall the Stuart Prince or take any other steps, and was unwilling to lose the right.

Mar was at that period one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland, and after the passing of the Act of Union received the office of Keeper of the Signet, with a pension.

In Cunningham's *History of Great Britain* a story is told of how an attempt on the part of Earl Godolphin to win some Scotsmen over to his side was met by an indignant refusal, coupled with the proud boast that *he* (the speaker) was "not such a one as Mar or Seafield."<sup>1</sup> It is curious to think how, later, in the Rising of the '15, Mar and Seafield were ranged in opposite parties.

In the ill-fated attempt of the Chevalier de St. George to land upon the coast of Scotland in the year after the passing of the Act of Union, the Earl of Mar was still, at any rate ostensibly, on the side of the Government, and is credited with having supplied to the latter a list of names of the Jacobites of the east coast. Many of these were apprehended, but on the advice it is said of the Great Marlborough, who, apparently, always had Stuart leanings, were eventually treated with leniency.

In 1711 Mar became Secretary of State for Scotland in the Government of Great Britain, and retained this post until the death of Queen Anne. Shortly after that event he addressed a letter to King George in Hanover, dated Whitehall, August 30, 1714, in which he reminds the new sovereign of the part he himself played in bringing about the Union, and offers his services with the most florid promises of future devotion. He also recalled the services of his forbears, who had been on

<sup>1</sup> The Chancellor who, when the Act of Union was finally signed and sealed, and the kingdom of Scotland had ceased to exist, remarked callously, "There's an end of an old song."

more than one occasion entrusted with the upbringing of the royal children. (An Earl of Mar was guardian of the infant James VI., and another had charge of Princess Elizabeth, grandmother of George I.) He, moreover, procured and sent to the King an address or memorial in the same strain, signed by several Highland chieftains, some of whom afterwards "came out" with him in the Jacobite interest.

George Lewis, Elector of Hanover, though he could not speak English, and had not been allowed to take his seat in the British House of Lords, knew a good deal about the men who had been, or wished to be, in office in England. He refused to receive the address from the Earl of Mar, demanded the return of the Seals of Office, and turned his back upon the whilom Secretary for Scotland when the latter appeared at Court.

Mar, whose conscience was far from clear (it is difficult at this distance of time to know what were his real feelings or principles), deeply resented this treatment, and thereafter flung himself heart and soul into the Jacobite cause. It is obvious that he had not, until this moment, been very deeply in the confidence of those who were managing the affairs of the Stuart Prince, although he says in his own *Memoirs* (*Earl of Mar's legacy to his son*, page 163) that he had been for four years in communication with the Court of St. Germain. And in writing to his brother, Lord Grange, always a staunch Whig, on August 7, 1714, he had said, "Though I say it who should not, I can make as good terms with the other side for myself as any of them." (*Correspondence of Lord Mar.*) But while Bolingbroke and Ormonde, who had both fled to France, were endeavouring to organize the essential French succours as a preliminary to action in Great Britain, Mar, after lingering in London for nearly a year and actually attending the King's Levée on August 1, 1715, set out secretly August 2nd on his own initiative for Scotland, where, a month later, he raised the Standard in Braemar, without any definite authority from James, who in a letter to Bolingbroke on September 23, 1715,



expresses an anxious desire that his friends in Scotland would at least wait for letters from him. (*Appendix to Lord Mahon's History.*) It was, of course, then too late.

Mar embarked at Gravesend in a collier, being accompanied by General Hamilton, and possibly his own brother-in-law, John Hay.<sup>1</sup> They were in disguise, and on the authority of the Master of Sinclair it is even said that they "worked their passage"; but this author never loses an opportunity of relating anything derogatory to Mar, and as the latter was accompanied by servants of his own, it seems unlikely that he should have thought it necessary to be so very realistic in his disguise, which was only assumed to facilitate his leaving London.

A letter sent to London by an anonymous "informer," now among the State Papers, gives further particulars. (*S.P.* 54, 8, 124.) "My Lord Marr had his passage from South to North Britain in John Spence of Leith his boat, having only in company with him General Hamilton and his meniall Servants; the boat was sailed by two Seamen. His design was to have landed at or near St. Andrews, but was forced into the South East part of ffyfe where he went on shoar near to Ely and in the hurry he landed with, one of his principal servants dropt over a Plank which was laid from the boat on a Rock and was drowned in the sea. And being put on shoar he travelled over land to his father-in-law my Lord Kinoul his house and being supplied with Horses by him for his Journey he took his way towards the country of Marr and the first night thereafter came to Thomas Rattray of Craighall near to Blair of Gowrie his house. Having intimated his design to him of taking up arms and declaring for the Pretender and consorting measures with him for the accomplishment thereof, he passed from Craighall towards Strathairdle where the informer had occasion to see him by ye Way, being accompanied by eighteen horsemen. Some of his vassals in Mar having intelligence of his

<sup>1</sup> The presence of Hay on the collier is doubtful; most authorities say he joined Mar in Scotland. (See pages 29 and 35.)



approach came and awaited him to Spalden of Ashentullie his house. Mar knowing him (Spalden) to be firm for the interest he was to sett up for, he (Mar) talked very freely in public of his designs, and knowing he (Spalden) could raise some 2 or 3 hundred men promised him a colonel's commission in ye Pretender's service and withall told him that whether the Pretender landed or not, General Hamilton and he (Mar) were to lead an army south for the dissolution of ye Union and to have ye Grievances of ye Nation redressed ; for he was at pains all the way as he passed to spread a false report of ye Parliament being designed to lay unsupportable Taxes upon the Nation on land, corn, cattle, meal, malt, horse, sheep, and not only so, but even on Cockes and Hens, and this was no mean reason for him to take up arms, since otherwise in a very short time the nation should sink under such burdens. This took extreamly with the common people and animated them to take up arms. He passed two days with that gentleman (Spalden) in great Jollity and as they were merry together, told him that at every house he had touched by the way he had borrowed something and he must needs borrow somewhat of him also and being demanded what that might bee, he told him it was his fiddler, which the Gentleman readily granted. From thence, Mar went to the Spittall of Glenshee where he lodged at a public-house and from thence to Marr and Having no house of his own in that country under repair, he lodged in ffarquharson of Envercauld, a vassal of his own and having assured him of an Invasion to be made of the three Kingdoms at once and that he was to head the Pretender's forces till the Duke of Berwick's arrival." (Invercauld refused to join unless he saw Mar's commission, and stole away in the night, taking with him what arms he had. Mar then ill-treated and threatened his servants, putting one of them in a hole ; forcing the steward to deliver up the key of his master's closet, and likewise seized some of the tenants and made them discover where their master was gone.)

JOHN, EARL OF MAR

Mar wrote a letter to the Laird of Ashentullie desiring the latter "to rise with him and join the standard, and away with the Union and Whiggery." (*S.P.* 54, 8, 34.)

And an even more extraordinary letter to his brother, Lord Grange (*S.P.* 54, 7, 62) :

"Braemar, Aug. 20, 1715.

"DEAR BROTHER,

You would be surprized, as well as others, to hear of my being in Scotland, and of my way of coming. I found that I could continue noe longer at London with my Liberty for I had certaine informatione that I was one of those to be very quickly taken up, and tho' I knew of no Crime I was guilty of, I thought it high time to see to my own Liberty now when it is in their power to Imprison for what time they think fitt anybody they are pleased to suspect ; and in these cases dislike is commonly thought ground enough of suspitione. This made me resolve to take the way I did and to come here to be out of the way till these alarmes be over.

I find all in this country very quiet and peaceable and I am resolved to continu so, but I have a mortall aversion at being taken up and Imprisoned and will avoid it as long as I can.

I know no reason I have given for the Government to suspect me. I served my late mistress of proud and glorious memory Long and faithfully, which I should be sorry to see lookt upon as cause of suspitione now and they cannot charge me guilty with any crime or cause of offence since her time. If I should transgress I am answerable and responsible too. I hope therefor they will let me alone Living here upon my own estate peaceably.

I know not what people they are who are called the Government at Edinburgh, but be they who they will you may lett them know this.

I send you enclosed a letter for my wife which I desire you

may forward by the first post. I will trouble you no more now. But I am dear Brother  
affectionately yr. etc.

MAR."

On August 23rd Adam Cockburn, Lord Justice Clerk, writes a covering letter with it, saying that Lord Grange has just shown him the original and that "Mr. Whetham" is sending the copy to Townshend.

At the meetings of the Jacobite lords and supporters on the 27th August and 3rd September Mar is said to have displayed his commission from King James as major-general of the forces in Scotland. The Master of Sinclair in his *Memoirs* declares this commission to have been forged. Now Sinclair was always ready to make an unpleasant insinuation against friend or foe (Mar afterwards called him "the Devil in the Camp"), and the original commission signed by James at Commercy still exists at Alloa, but was subsequent to this date, for James Murray, who conveyed to James the news that Mar was already in Scotland, also added that he was extremely "uncasie" until he got his commission. This was on September 3rd. It appears certain, therefore, that what Mar showed to the other lords on August 27th and on September 6th was "an anticipatory draft" made by himself of the commission which he knew was on the way,<sup>1</sup> for there is a letter preserved in the Record Office (*S.P.* 54, 9, 94) in which the Lord Justice Clerk, writing to Lord Townshend on the 29th October 1715,

<sup>1</sup> Which is actually dated 7th September. A commission to act with the advice of others was first granted. On 22nd October another (omitting that clause) was sent. And Mar himself, writing to General Alexander Gordon from Perth, says, "Ogilvie of Boyne came to me last night, from our master, the King, with my new Commission and letters." (*From a selection of the original Letters and Papers relating to the Rebellion of 1715.* Pub. 1730.)

James Murray of Stormont had also left Paris with a copy of James's commission to Mar, but travelling through England, arrived later than Ogilvie. James Murray went backwards and forwards several times between France and Scotland. He was at one time in Newgate in 1716, but escaped. (See page III.)

says, "The 3rd of this month Mr. Ogilvy of Boyne landed at Aberdeen from France, he brought the Earl of Mar's commission as Commander-in-Chief with him. The Marquis of Huntly was in Aberdeen when he landed and (Boyne) was heard to say 'he was surprised to find such an appearance for his master.'" (Having feared, apparently, that Huntly would not declare himself.)

It is well known that Huntly was unwilling to serve under Mar, or, indeed, under any subject; only perhaps the Duke of Berwick, with his royal blood and his military genius, would have been acceptable, or could have made a real success of the Rising.

The patent creating John Earl of Mar a duke was signed at Commercy on 22nd October 1715. It was mentioned but not sent with the commission of Commander-in-Chief received by Mar on October 9th, and to make the matter doubly sure, the creation was recorded again in Rome, 13th December 1722, and appears in *Ruvigny's Jacobite Peerage* under that date. The full titles were Duke of Mar, Marquis Erskine, Earl of Kildrumny, Viscount Garioch, Lord of Alloa, Ferriton and Forrest.

Robert Campbell, biographer of the Duke of Argyll, says of Mar, "He was an able statesman, and wanted not personal Courage; but was entirely ignorant of the art of war, a Province which we see he made but a wretched figure in."

Details of the military actions and mistakes of the Earl of Mar belong to the general history of the period, and have been given in the historical section.

After the failure of the Rising and the hurried retreat from Perth to Dundee, Mar, after giving out faked intelligence of a large contingent of French troops and arms to be expected at Aberdeen, and arranging for the bulk of the army to proceed thither, remained in Montrose, with his royal master, and (according to his own account) unwillingly yielded to that master's orders to accompany him on his undignified flight



to France. The undoubted fact that the retreating army would be able to make better terms with their triumphant enemies in the absence of the "Pretender to the crown" was used also by Mar to cover his own action.<sup>1</sup> Mar and his master, with Lord Drummond, the Earl of Melfort and six others, set sail in the *Marie Thérèse* of St. Malo, and arrived in safety at Waldam, near Gravelines, subsequently going on to St. Germain (where Mar was appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber and Secretary of State), and thence, on April 2nd, to Avignon, where, a week later, he was made a Knight of the Garter.

General Hamilton, Mar's faithful friend and supporter from the moment they left London, who was made a scapegoat for the failure at Sheriffmuir, had been sent off from Peterhead in the ship which brought James, nominally to represent the needs of the Jacobites to the French Government; but, as Mar was careful to point out, actually because of the collapse of the left wing at Sheriffmuir on November 13th, for which he was held responsible. On February 13th Hamilton wrote to Mar a long letter from Paris, showing that he had fulfilled his mission to the best of his ability, and that arms and powder were to follow. He adds that he has sent to Mar 93 bottles of champagne and 20 hogsheads of good claret, shipped from Dieppe. As the letter now in the Stuart Papers is endorsed: "Returned and delivered in Paris March 11," it would be interesting to know what became of Mar's wine, if it ever reached Peterhead.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But preparations for the departure from Montrose had been made in advance. (See page 117.)

<sup>2</sup> Mar's letter to Bolingbroke of January 3rd seems the height of meanness: "The King has explained to you the reason for sending General Hamilton with these despatches, which I, indeed, advised, as I thought it not only for his Majesty's service, but also to save poor George's reputation. He does not know this, though, to be the reason, at least not from me. . . . I earnestly recommend you to get him employed some where in the King's service."

Hamilton scrupulously fulfilled his mission, and supplied Bolingbroke with a full list of what was wanted in Scotland, but nothing was sent, save the wine ordered by Mar. (*Stuart Papers*, Vol. I.)

Whatever opinion may be held as to Mar's character and behaviour in his earlier life, nothing but reprobation can be found for his conduct in abandoning those whom he had entangled in the Cause, which entirely owed its disaster to his military incapacity and lack of decision. He was now quite discredited with the party, and though the remaining years of his life were chiefly passed in Jacobite intrigues, he was so little trusted by any one, that the mere fact of his being involved in any scheme caused others at once to fight shy of it.<sup>1</sup> He attempted negotiations with Charles XII. of Sweden, and was employed to enlist the interest of the Duke of Argyll, who had been badly treated by the Government, and was feeling sore. This attempt, however, came to nothing, and Mar is credited with having intercepted sealed letters between Argyll and the Chevalier. He was with his master at Avignon, where he was one of the prominent figures in the little Court.

He also maintained suspicious correspondence with various people from Urbino and Pesaro, whither he accompanied the King. To Sir John Erskine he wrote from the former place : " We are going on in our old dull way ; one day being as like another as two eggs, and those eaten without pepper and salt."

In 1717 Mar went to Rome, where he was mixed up in various abortive plots. When James, in 1719, started for Spain in connection with Cardinal Alberoni's plan for another invasion of Scotland which ended in the disaster of Glenshiel, he went by sea to Marseilles and Las Rosas, and ordered that Mar,<sup>2</sup> to avert suspicion from himself, should set out by land for France accompanied by the Duke of Perth. They were arrested, at Voghera, and detained. Mar soon regained his

<sup>1</sup> The Earl Marischal in particular, that soul of honour, refused to have any dealings with Mar, and Mar himself lamented that he had " lost him as friend."

<sup>2</sup> Mar begged not to be sent to Scotland, as he felt sure it would be bad for the cause, as well as possibly dangerous for himself ; he knew he had many enemies.

liberty, but was not present at Montefiascone at the marriage of James and Clementina, which took place on the former's return from Spain, though Lady Mar had been one of those to welcome the Princess when she arrived in Rome, after so many adventures, to find no bridegroom ready for her.

In 1722, when another Rising was planned, Mar was authorized to call a Parliament in Scotland, but nothing came of it.

Wearying of the intrigues of the small Jacobite court in the Palazzo Muti, Piazza dei Santi Apostoli, in Rome, or, as others say, with the intention of making his peace with the Hanoverian Government, and distrusted by all save his master, Mar had already obtained that master's permission to leave Rome and proceed to Geneva. There he had again been imprisoned, this time by the orders of the British Government, but liberated through the agency of Lord Stair,<sup>1</sup> who had long been corresponding with Mar, and recognized him as a useful turncoat, even obtaining for him the offer of a Government pension.<sup>2</sup>

James Murray wrote to the King from Paris, June 10, 1724 :

"Forgive me, Sir, if I endeavour to show you that Martel's (Mar's) receiving a pension by your consent, and remaining thereafter in the secret of your business could not but be of the worst consequences to you. . . . In general it appears that you can never gain but may lose by your ministers having correspondence with George's." (Which would indeed seem self-evident.)

<sup>1</sup> In Lord Pitsligo's MS. account of the events of 1719-20 he says that he called on John Law when in Paris in January 1720, and asked the great financier to use his best endeavours to get Mar out of Geneva. "Law promised to do so, both with the Regent and in his own particular, so he expressed it. I reckoned also by some words he dropped that he was not averse to the King's Interest, of which I had some more information afterwards, and it was conjectured that the Abbé Dubois and Argenson's hatred of him increased upon that account."

<sup>2</sup> There is some doubt as to whether he ever actually received this.

In the following August, Hay (Lord Inverness) wrote to Murray :

"I think it would not be amiss tho' it was known that Martel was no more trusted," and James at length consented to "put a stop to his underhand dealings," ceased correspondence with him, and wrote to Ormonde, 7th September 1724, that he would "have nothing more to do with him." (*Unpublished Stuart Papers.*)

Mar apparently was in Italy once more, but returned to Paris and Clichy, and finally went to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he died in 1732.

Mar's estates were, after his attainder of course, confiscated, but by arrangement with the Government these were, nine years later, purchased at an auction in Edinburgh by his brother, James Erskine, Lord Grange, for Thomas, Mar's son, who died unmarried in 1766. The representation of the family then passed to Lord Grange's son, who had married Lady Frances, sister of Thomas, Lord Erskine, and the title was eventually restored to *their* son in 1824. He was called the 30th Earl, since but for the attainder, Thomas Erskine would have been the 28th holder of the title and his sister the 29th.

Grange himself appears to have held the estates for seven years, and, in consequence of poverty, sold the greater part, in 1731, to William Duff of Braco, afterwards 1st Lord Fife, whose descendants still own some parts of it; the portions which Invercauld had held as tenant being bought back by him.

Mar's own defence of his conduct is contained in his "*Legacy to his son*," already quoted, published by the Scottish History Society in 1896, from the original MS.

The following passage may be given :

"When I found that we (in Scotland) continued to be ill-treated under the Union, I became as much for having it broke as ever I had been in earnest for having it made. . . .



I found the breaking of it impossible without an entire revolution by restoring our Natural King to who's family I had always had a hearts liking. This made me enter into a correspondence with the king about the time of the change of ministry [in 1710], the last years of Queen Anne."

He corresponded freely with King James up to nearly the time of his own death, and frequently offered advice to the latter on divers matters. From his retreat at Clichy, near Paris, he sent many detailed reports to Rome of the doings of other Jacobites, often ill-natured and complaining—his letters are to be found in the Stuart Papers at Windsor.

In 1723 he prepared a memorial for the Regent Orléans, pointing out the advantage to France of having a Stuart on the throne of Great Britain instead of a German Guelph. (*Ibid.*)

This, if delivered, of which there is no evidence, must obviously have been without the knowledge of Lord Stair.

## II

### ALEXANDER, MARQUIS OF HUNTLY (afterwards 2nd Duke of Gordon)

ONLY son of George, 1st Duke of Gordon, who had married, in 1676, Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Henry, 6th Duke of Norfolk, and 1st Earl of Norwich of a new creation. The 1st Duke of Gordon held Edinburgh Castle for a year in the interests of James II., 1688-89.

The Marquis, born about 1678, was well educated, and had travelled extensively on the Continent, in company with George Gordon of Sauchen.

When Nathaniel Hooke visited the Duke at Gordon Castle in September 1705, Huntly had just returned from Italy, where he had formed a close friendship with Cosimo de' Medici, Duke of Tuscany, after whom he subsequently called his son, the 3rd Duke. (Hooke reported Huntly to be at that time, like his father, a keen Jacobite.) In the following year he married the scion of a Whig family, Henrietta Mordaunt, daughter of Charles, Earl of Peterborough, and his Jacobite ardour cooled. It is also said that he had come to an agreement with his wife's uncle, Sir Peter Fraser of Durris, a prominent Whig, that he would not rise in the Jacobite interest until the whole kingdom had declared for the Stuart Prince, and begged Sir Peter to inform the Government that he "would remain a peaceable man at home," which request Sir Peter fulfilled.

It appeared also, from an informer's letter (page 32), that Huntly was on his way to Durris, when he was overtaken by Mar's messenger summoning him to the hunting party

at Braemar, August 27th, and was thus forced to declare himself. He attended this meeting, and also the small Jacobite council at Aboyne on September 3rd, and definitely threw in his lot with the Rising. He was, moreover, one of those summoned to appear at Edinburgh, and, like all the rest save two, disregarded the summons (see page 24). He was credited with having some months earlier made secret preparations and provisions of arms and horses for a rising, as well as having cloth dyed for soldiers' clothing, etc. (*S.P.* 54, 7, 40.)

He had, at the first alarm of Jacobite activities in Scotland, been temporarily confined to his own house, but that was a mere form. His father, the duke, however, was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, and later resided in his own house in the Citadel of Leith, where he died, 7th December 1716.

In Macky's *Secret Services—Characters of the Scots Nobility*, the 1st Duke of Gordon is thus described: "He hath a great many good links in him, but they do not all make a complete chain. . . . He is a Roman Catholic because he was bred so, but otherwise thinks very little of revealed religion." Huntly had been brought up in the same religion, and that, doubtless, was one amongst the many reasons why he was not, as he no doubt wished to be, made the head of the movement. Since the Rising had started in the north-east corner of Scotland, where the inhabitants had always been so loyal, the obvious leader would seem to have been the descendant of Queen Mary's "Cock of the North," or, in this case, his son and representative, and a contemporary chronicler says, "It is certain all the Clans at their first coming had no other notion but that of being commanded by Huntly." Many people thought he would be "unwilling to serve under any subject's command," as indeed he was, and delayed for some time in raising his men, though, as has been said, preparations had already been made at Gordon Castle.<sup>1</sup>

Mar seems to have dealt direct with John Gordon of Glen-

<sup>1</sup> See page 30.

bucket, Huntly's baillie (*q.v.*), and urged him to bring out his master and that master's tenants. The commission issued by Mar to Glenbucket, 1st September 1715, is "to require and empower you to raise such of the Marquis of Huntly's men and following as he shall direct you, etc." (*Stuart Papers.*)

A letter from Mar to Glenbucket of 8th September says, "I'll expect positively to hear from you soon," and on 9th September, "I would have you on Monday next, or as soon as possible, send some of my Lord Huntly's men into this country to join us." He also said that he relied upon Glenbucket to urge Huntly to declare himself, and to join the Standard without delay. (*Ibid.*)

Before very long, Huntly did throw himself whole-heartedly into the enterprise; persuaded Invercauld (who, like himself, had been waiting for the coming of the King or the Duke of Berwick) to join Mar, and proceeded to force out all his tenants and vassals, as is shown by the following letters:

*The Marquis of Huntly to Charles Gordon of Tillarhondie*

"Gordon Castle, 26th September 1715.

"Mr. Gordon of Tillarhondie.<sup>1</sup>

I expected to have seen Sir Thomas Calder of Muirtown and Thomas Tulloch of Tannachy at this place before this time, but since they have failed in coming, you must oblige them to accompany me in this expedition, they being my tenants and as such bound by their tacks to attend me at hosting (war) and hunting. I recommend this and what you had formerly in command, to your particular case and manadgment and am your assured friend,

HUNTLY."

(*S.P.* 35, 6, 87.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name should be spelled Tillaphoudie.

<sup>2</sup> This letter, with some others of equal importance, is among the English and not the Scottish State Papers. (*S.P.* 35 and not *S.P.* 54.)



Sir Thomas Calder enclosed a copy of this letter in his petition from Carlisle, 4th December 1716. He and Tulloch were Morayshire vassals of Huntly.

Huntly also added a note to the effect that "Calder had no command." He was later one of those "discharged from Carlisle for lack of proceedings."

John Hamilton of Gibston, another factor of Huntly's, enclosed with his petition for pardon a copy of his tack (lease)<sup>1</sup> to show the provisions which forced him to attend his superior in war; he was released and took part in the Rising of 1745, was taken prisoner at Carlisle, and hanged at Kennington.

Among the Tanachy Papers is a letter sent by Lord Huntly to various lairds in his neighbourhood, dated—

"Gordon Castle, 30th September 1715.

"SIR,

Since Ld. Mar has sent mee notice of ane express just com from the King with assurances of his own and the Duke of Berwick in the north of England or Scotland and Duke Ormond and L. Bullenbruck's<sup>2</sup> landing in the west,<sup>3</sup> and I designe to make all the haist I can and it's my opinion you nor no body should take any with you but franke young fellos volunteers. My Foot of Strathboggy and Enzie march from Strathboggy tusday morning, my foot coms owt of Murro (Moray) may bee heare so as to bee at Strathboggy munday night. I go my selfe from hence Sunday after dinner and from Strathboggy munday morning to Aberdeen wher I hav writ to my friends to meet me. All the Low Countray foot go by Kinoir the nearest way, pleas send this Letter to Alter<sup>4</sup> (Altyre) to bee communicat to Sir Thomas

<sup>1</sup> S.P. 35, I, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Bolingbroke.

<sup>3</sup> All this, as already shown, was an invention of Mar's to raise the hopes of the Jacobites and bring out the waverers.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Cumming, 14th Laird of Altyre.

ALEXANDER, MARQUIS OF HUNTLY

Calder and Tanachy and whom else are thought fitt who go on this Honble. occasion. If you can spare any arms, pleas send them to Baly Falconer who will forward them to mee. Since time pressed I'll not stop to attend Brody but Mr. Seaford will in his way. I am too sensible of yr and the rest of my friends kindness to pretend woords sufficient to show my gratitude, but when I hav the power The will is forward as possible to doe you all the service and kindness imaginable and to show I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate and humble servant,  
HUNTLY."

Two letters addressed to Brodie of Brodie show Lord Huntly as endeavouring to raise Morayshire as well in the Jacobite interest. (Brodie was, in fact, a Whig. See page 161.)

" SR,

Though I had the good fortune to know yr Father, yet not being of yr aqwantance but little, I giv you the truble of this letter to ashure you Conterary to your expectation that yr. selfe nor Tenands shal feel no affects of the present seeming disturbance providing after keeping a competent number of arms for yr. selfe you alow the rest to bee delivered to Alter or Tannachy Tulloch ; who for them or yr usless horces wil giv you recept and obligation to return all within six munths or any price you put upon them. Lending of them can doe you no prejudice and may save you farder truble, besids it wil very much oblidge mee to doe you any Civility in my powr which I'le bee reddy to perform according as I am delt by.

I shal be, Sir,  
yor. Affec<sup>at</sup> humble servant,  
HUNTLY.

Gor<sup>n</sup> Ca<sup>le</sup> 22nd Sept. 1715."

"SR,

Some of yr friends ar heare wher I am, Dipple<sup>1</sup> is as clos friend to you and me to carry you this Letter. Its to inform you hav severall good Arms in yr hous, all desir<sup>d</sup> is yr. giving them to any body you pleas to chuse. I'll give my receipt for them and Obligation to return them within six muntths or any value you pleas to put upon them. I'll doe the same with any horces you deliver. If you ar not content of thes proposals, I must let Lr. Seaforth know. Hee and I ar to take measures conjunct according to yr answer which pray let mee know by Dipple, whom I expect very soon back. I hope you wil doe whats fit for yr interest. No advantage to mee in particular but for our King and Cuntray's defence and deliverance. Thinke seriously of this kind proposal. I wish you no harm you nor none of yrs shal hav any harm or los, providing you answer kindly as I hope you wil, which shall bee ever graitfully return,

by yr. Affec<sup>at</sup> humble servant,

HUNTLY.

Elgin. 26th Sept. 1715."  
(*Letters at Brodie Castle.*)

Many Aberdeenshire Jacobites afterwards offered the plea of compulsion by Huntly, and not one was executed, though after his own pardon he was only able actually to obtain licence for three of those depending upon him in some manner to return home, viz. Alexander Irvine of Drum, James Bisset of Lessendrum, and Robert Gordon of Cluny.

Huntly himself having made a formal entry into Aberdeen, joined Lord Mar at Perth on October 5th<sup>2</sup> with 500 horse

<sup>1</sup> William Duff, father of the first Lord Fife, apparently a sympathizer with the Jacobite cause, though he did not openly join it. He remarked cannily that "William Duff would have come out, but Dipple would behold the event."

<sup>2</sup> The warrant to apprehend him seems to have been issued on 1st October, but he was not one of those attainted. (See page 321.)

and 2,000 foot. According to most of the lists of the clans, etc., he and his father could always raise at least 3,000 men.

The foot were some of the best of the Jacobite infantry, and some of the horse were well mounted, but what he called his light horse—"lubberly fellows, mounted on long-tailed horses, less than the men," as Sinclair called them—provoked a good deal of laughter, and even threw discredit on the rest of his troop. The horse was at one time brigaded with and put under the command of the Master of Sinclair, and the foot was commanded by Glenbucket. A party of these was at the unfortunate affair at Dunfermline, and eight of Huntly's officers were taken. Five of them wrote to him afterwards from their prison in Stirling.

"To Lord Huntly at Edinburgh

MY LORD,

Wee had the honour of yours by Mrs. Hamilton,<sup>1</sup> which convinces you how much wee are bound to your Lordship for your concern about us. But the justice of your temper was so well known to most of us, that wee never doubted but your Lordship wold use all endeavors both by yourself and your friends for all those gentlemen who followed you. Wee are pretty easy at present, but if wee fall into straits while in prison wee will give your Lordship the trouble of knowing it. Wee presume to acquaint your Lordship that there were only three Gentlemen taken with us att Drumferlin, who did *not* belong to you—Mr. Murray, brother to Abercairnie, who has the honor to be known by you, Doctor Kinloch, an Angus gentleman, and Mr. Forbes, second son to Balfuig. Mr. Murray came from Perth in company with Mr. Abercrombie of Aforsk, belonged to no particular corps was willing to have been wt. your Lordship, if ye unlucky accident had not fallen out. Some of your friends who live near this have been

<sup>1</sup> Wife of John Hamilton of Gibston. (See page 202.)



extremely helpfull to us since our imprisonment and if it had not been for yim wee had been in great straits in the beginning, when wee had neither money nor any correspondence wt. our friends. So yt. if after your Lordship has been able to procure your own liberty, if you can gett ym. reckoned as yours, it will tye them to your Lordship and be very acceptable to us, seeing they have been still our fellow prisoners. We are very glade to hear your Lordship is in good health, it will be the greatest pleasure to know yt. you may be safe in person, and state. Whatever may be our own fate wee will endeavour to wait it wt. patience and resignatione suitable in such a case. Your Lordship shall know by Mr. Innes all those who belong to you att this place and yt. your Lordship may be safe is ye earnest desire of My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servants

PATRICK GORDON.

GEORGE INNES.

WIL. ROBERTSON.

ALEXR. GORDON.

ALEX. HAY.

Stirling Castle. April 17th 1716."  
(*Gordon Castle Papers.*)

At the battle of Sheriffmuir, Huntly's squadron was with Marischal's in the centre of the front line (it should have been on the right according to the first dispositions), and took part in the pursuit of Whetham's dragoons nearly to Stirling. His foot was the main support of the second line. As to where the Marquis himself was to be found on that unlucky day, contemporary ballads give an account somewhat wounding to the Gordon pride. In any case, he does not seem to have distinguished himself, and, very soon after, he made up his mind that it was necessary to withdraw his forces from Mar's army and retire to his own estates in the North.

In the interval between the battle and his departure, Huntly seems to have identified himself with Sinclair, and what was known as "the Grumblers' Club," in whose eyes Mar could

do nothing right. There is also no doubt that both Huntly and Sinclair were in communication with Argyll as to possible terms of surrender, even before the battle. As Sinclair said, with some truth, they could only hope to make terms while still "sword in hand."

He relates further that immediately after Sheriffmuir, Mar, fearing to lose the great support of Huntly and his contingent (as he had already lost that of Seaforth, who had at once hastened off to protect his own country from the menace of Inverness, now in Whig hands), approached Sinclair begging him to induce Huntly to stay with him a little longer. Sinclair disclaimed all influence, and Huntly very soon followed Seaforth to the North, December 7, 1715. Sinclair stated that one good result of his being in Banffshire and Aberdeenshire with all his following was to keep the ports of those coasts "open," i.e. possible for Jacobite landings, and therefore useful to the King, since Sutherland could not overrun the country. Huntly himself wrote to Glenbucket from Scone on the day he left, saying he was to be north next week, and desired his baillie "to have all readie to receive me, for doing what's necessary for the King's service, who I have undoubted reason to believe will be in Scotland in a few days if not already. This you may inform everybody of." (*Stuart Papers.*)

But Glenbucket wrote to Mar a week later saying that "Huntly's people in the north are but rabble, the third of them not being armed." It was said elsewhere that "they threw away their arms (as well as their plaids) at Sheriffmuir." The *Chronicles of Old Keith* note on December 18th, "This day the Earl Huntly immediately after the sermon, passed through Keith, very disheartened-like."

Sinclair joined Huntly at Gordon Castle on Christmas Day, 1715. They were not as yet aware of the actual arrival of James at Peterhead on the 22nd December, but Sinclair felt that Perth was no longer very safe for him, though he does not seem to have been aware that Mar went so far, a month

later, as to issue, in the King's name, an order for his *arrest*. It is now at Gordon Castle, and has never been printed.

"To the Lord Marquis of Huntly—order for apprehending the Master of St. Clair.

James R.

Whereas we have thought fitt to order the Master of St. Clair to come up immediately to our armie and if he delay or refuse to give due obedience to the said order, it will give us just ground to believe some information which we have had of the said Master's having private dealings with the enemies. These are therefore, in caice of his said delay or refusal, ordering and requiring you furthwith to cause seaze and apprehend the said Master of St. Clair and send him up to our armie at Perth or wherever it shall happen to be, under a sure guard. For the doing of which this shall be yor warrant.

Given at our Court of Scoon this 30th of January in the 15 year of our reign, 1716. By his Majesties Command.

MAR."

Sinclair was not arrested, but eventually escaped to Orkney and France.

On hearing of the landing of James, according to Sinclair, Huntly exclaimed, "Now there's no help for it, we must all ruine with him. Would to God he had come sooner!" (*Stuart Papers*.)

Whether this was merely a theatrical gesture or a genuine burst of loyalty which he was unable to live up to will never be known. It is also possible that Sinclair invented the phrase; he was guilty of so many falsehoods in belittling others that he may for once have used his inventive powers in a laudatory manner. It may be noted that Sinclair also says that "Huntly as well as Hamilton<sup>1</sup> was shamefully traduced over Sheriffmuir fight." Seaforth certainly said Huntly did not go

<sup>1</sup> General George Hamilton. (See page 99.)

near the line of battle, but the same was said of Seaforth himself!

General Robert Ecklin, the English soldier who joined Mar's army from France, adds his testimony in favour of Huntly. (*Stuart Papers*, 1st November 1717.) "Huntly was well his own wheelwright in making carriages for the guns sent to Gordon Castle. I was told by several gentlemen that when he received the news of the King's landing he said, 'Now farewell life, estate and all things dear to me, for since my King is come, I will risk all hazards with him.'"

The fact, however, remains that he did not go to meet the King, though James sent him a personal letter from Fetteresso on December 28th<sup>1</sup> expressing the desire to see him in Perth as soon as he and Seaforth should have recaptured Inverness, and a second letter later.

Huntly's correspondence with Seaforth was entirely connected with the truce both were making with the Government forces. Huntly at least kept it, while Seaforth broke the conditions and escaped to the Highlands. After James and Mar had departed from Montrose, and the army under Alexander Gordon marched north, it halted near Gordon Castle, and two messengers were sent to know if Huntly would bring out his following and join it again, but he refused.

On February 7th he made his formal submission, and admitted a Government garrison to Gordon Castle on the 11th.

Among the papers at Gordon Castle is to be found the text of Huntly's already-made truce, with Lord Reay, Colonel Robert Monro, and Captain George Grant, of date 7th January 1716. He "promises *on honour* that he shall immediately withdraw all his men and followers and those under his Command from Moray to the East side of the Spey river; and shall not permit any of the said men to return before Monday the 23rd of this instant January and that during the said time the said men shall not trouble or molest any of the lands of those

<sup>1</sup> See page 132.



above mentioned or others under the command of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Sutherland. And the said Lord Reay etc. promises that none of the said Marquis' vassals, men, tenants or lands shall be molested or troubled during the said time and that none of the troops at present under the said noble Earl's Command at Inverness, shall be quartered be east of that town during the above time after Tuesday the 10th inst."

Huntly wrote to Lovat on February 11th in a most cynical manner, that he would of course trust himself anywhere on promises from Lovat and Sutherland, but "his friends think it reasonable he should have a protection in due form" before coming in, as once he is advanced from home as far as Forres, and the Duke of Argyll's parties behind him, "I shall not be in the same freedom of absconding as I now am"! He got the protection, but after having given himself up he was, to his great surprise, committed to prison in Edinburgh Castle.

In a letter of February 14th he also says that he "had assurances of life and fortune for myself and friends before I came from Perth—(that is, before December 7th)—from the Duke, by allowance from the Government."

A good many promises seem to have been made on both sides, and not kept.

Glenbucket wrote to Huntly on February 4th, the day James and Mar left Scotland (the fact being, of course, unknown to either). "For God's sake let us do something worthy of memory and if we fail, let us die like men of honour and resolution. Our cause is good and just. By the Lord's assistance I shall have all your men I have concern with, ready to march in haste and what more can be got together."

On February 7th Huntly wrote to Glenbucket, "I want very much to speak to you, so come hither without loss of time." He no doubt then broke to him his own intention of surrendering to the Government, which he did on February 10th, and Glenbucket decided to do the same.

After his surrender, Huntly wrote a very humble letter to Brigadier Grant, Lord Lieutenant of Banffshire :

“Inverness, 10th March 1716.

“ . . . The kindly manner yow do what yow are ordered to my people I take very kindly of yow and for that and your former civilitys will show my gratitude to yow and your friendis on all occasions. I hope my people will give satisfaction to yow in being obedient to your orders. It's what I wish and hav desired of them, and I doubt not but they will agree to it, though, wer it not in hopes of good neighbourhood, they wou'd be sorry to part with the few arms they have, when your people are the best armed by far in Scotland. But as no harm is designed, so none is expected from relations and friends. By my letter to Glenbucket yow will see what use hee will be of while at liberty. If hereafter I live in this kingdom, I hope to have, and will with frankness use, all means and opportunitys to show yow I am, sir

Your most affectionate cusing and humble servant,  
HUNTLY.”

*(Castle Gordon Papers.)*

Another paper at Gordon Castle relates to the committing of Lord Huntly to Edinburgh Castle :

“ 21 March 1716.

“ Whereas by ane sentence pronounced by us the Lord Justice Clerk and Commissioners of Justiciary against Alexander, Marques of Huntly, upon the first day of October last by past, he is decerned to be imprisoned in manner and for the causes during the space mentioned and whereas he is now in custody, These therefore require and ordain the officer under whose command he is at present or the Captain of the City Guard of Edinburgh to carry and commit the person of the said Alexander Marques of Huntly prisoner to the Castle of

Edinburgh there to remain during the span mentioned in the said sentence, and the Commanding Officer of the said Castle is commanded to receive and detain his person within the said Castle, for doing whereof this shall be a sufficient warrant.

AD. COCKBURNE.

JA. MACKENZIE.

DA. ERSKINE.

The above is a troow duple attested by me Jn. Lindsay, Major of the Castle of Edinr." (*Ibid.*)

For nearly six months after this date Huntly was in prison in Edinburgh, much to his own disgust ; he had expected, when surrendering himself to Lovat and Sutherland on February 7th, to be treated with great leniency, as indeed seems to have been expected in other quarters as well. This is well shown by a letter from the French ambassador in London (now in the archives of the French Foreign Office).

" 13 Mar. 1716. Londres.

" Il paroît que les Messieurs de huntly et de Seaforth ont congédié leur vasseaux après avoir écrit au Comte de Sutherland sur le pardon qu'il leur avait fait espérer. Mais ils ont refusé de se rendre prisonniers au Château d'Inverness, comme on l'avait exigé d'eux et se sont tenus à l'écart en sureté. On assure que la Cour est déterminée à leur envoyer leur pardon sans aucune condition. Ainsi l'on compte l'affaire finie à leur égard.

D'IBERVILLE."

(*Papiers d'Ecosse.*)

Even when in Edinburgh Castle, Huntly had counted on having the treatment of a peer, and to be either kept there in honourable seclusion till his case was decided, or sent to the Tower. He was, as General Carpenter reports, "extremely mortified" to find that, as merely the eldest son of a peer, he

was to be treated like all the other Scots lairds, and eventually to be marched to Carlisle on September 3rd there to stand his trial, when he "had daily Expected orders to be set at liberty." (S.P. 54, 12, 135.) He also neglected no means on his own part to effect this, and three further letters from him, during his imprisonment in Carlisle, show still how deeply the Laird of Braco (see page 259) and his uncle, William Duff of Dipple (father of the first Lord Fife), were implicated on the Jacobite side.

"Edinburgh Castle, Saturday 30 June 1716.

"To the Lady Braco, younger.<sup>1</sup>

LADY BRACO,

Excuse this trouble, but I have present necessitie for 20 guineas this day to pay it without fail to a friend. If you can spare them send them by the bearer. I'll repay them next week without faile. If you have them not by you, pray get them and order my servant to return in the afternoon—I ask this favour as an addition to your former, for which you shall find me ever with gratitude,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,  
HUNTLY."

(*Gordon Castle Papers.*)

Balvenie Castle being in the hands of Colonel William Grant and the Hanoverian troops, "Lady Braco" was apparently living in Edinburgh, and to her Huntly also applied for funds to facilitate his release.

"Ed. Castle, 16 June 1716.

"To the Lady Braco, younger.

LADY BRACO,

Braco desired me to send to you if I found Diple not willing or not able to doe me the favor I askd. of him, which

<sup>1</sup> Helen Taylor, wife of William Duff, as her mother-in-law, the widow of Alexander Duff, was still alive; Helen Taylor lived to be 112.



was to let me have 600 pounds sterling in Lend to exped my remission and some business I had at present. I was glad to have oportunity of adressing you believing without doubt you will doe me all the kindness you can towards Lending me yrselpe or getting the munny for mee by yr own and housbands interest and Credit. I expect yr answer soon as you please. I am glad, if of late I was so Lucke as to doe you or housband any Civilitys—it's what I shall bee always reddy to continue on all ocasions.

I am

Yr most obligd humble servant

HUNTLY."

(*Duff Family Papers.*)

Later, he made arrangements to return the money thus given.

"Ed. Castle. 3 Sept. 1716.

"For the much hond. Laird of Diple.

LAIRD OF DIPLE,

I have ordered Brunsteane to cause Mr. Tod, Tomnemulin and Comry giv you al the spare muny, bonds or bils they get from my Tenands. What they give you pray receve and giv yr recept for—not as muny or bils to me but as from the giver to be return'd on demand. As things are at present I am so glad to hav some of my affects in good hands. None better than yours. I therefore expect yr friendship in this and what else is in yr power during my absence. Which will singularly oblige

Yr most affecat. friend.

HUNTLY."

(*Ibid.*)

In the State Papers (54, 12, 59) there is a letter from Huntly in Edinburgh Castle to Lord Townshend, of date 2nd August 1716, begging for his influence with the King to permit

Huntly to go home, as his affairs in the north are suffering, his father being still in his house in the Citadel at Leith. He was allowed to go and visit his father, but on August 28th General Carpenter writes that the prisoners are to set out on Monday or Tuesday for Carlisle, and Huntly will have to go with them. He went with the third party on Wednesday, 5th September, two days after writing his letter to Duff of Dipple, with Glenbucket, Calder, John Gordon of Aboyne, James Burnett of Monboddoo, Colonel James Urquhart, etc. After the prisoners started, orders came to keep Huntly in Edinburgh Castle, so General Carpenter's son "rode hard after him and brought him back." (*S.P.* 54, 12, 160.) General Carpenter reports that he himself feels, after much discourse with Huntly, that "he both can and will be very serviceable in suppressing the Highland party. One reason I have to think this is that the Pretender's friends hate him mortally and would be glad he were put to death, but the continuance of his great interest in the north is by the vast number of tenants he has in those parts." Huntly was still in Edinburgh on October 27th, as Carpenter writes again: "The Marquiss of Huntly is advysed that his Majesty designs to extend his clemency to him in a pardon which is passing the proper forms requisit and begs to be granted his liberty in the meantime, Huntly, Glenbucket and Sir William Gordon <sup>1</sup> are concerting schemes for pacifying the Highlanders." (*S.P.* 54, 12, 332.) On November 6, 1716, Carpenter announces, "The Marquis of Huntly's remission was brought hither on Saturday night last, and on Sunday he was sett at liberty. After going north Huntly designs to go to London and kiss H.R.H.'s hands." During the interval, while waiting for his pardon (which now lies at Gordon Castle), Huntly seems to have busied himself in doing what he could for his unfortunate tenants and friends in Carlisle, and sent them money. Many grateful letters from them are in Gordon Castle charter room.

<sup>1</sup> Of Invergordon, a Whig.

Just a month after he regained his freedom, his father died, and he became 2nd Duke of Gordon, December 6, 1716.

He does not appear to have had any further dealings with the Jacobite party. It is noted in the Stuart Letters, Lewis Innes to Mar, September 5, 1717, "For news, the Duke of Gordon landed at Dunkirk 8 or 10 days ago and with him the son of General Carpenter and Gordon of Glenbucket. He went from there to Bruges, Gant and Brussels, to see some of his Mother's relations."

The following letters, among the Stuart Papers, show that hopes were entertained that he might join the rising of 1719, but he remained prudently at home :

*Duke of Ormonde to the Duke of Gordon*

"Feb. 23, 1719.

"MY LORD,

I am so much assured of your Grace's zeal and readiness for the King's service that I make no doubt of your Grace's joyning your interest with my Lord Marshalles for the endeavouring the restoring his Majesty. I hope in God to land in England with a body of regular troopes which will draw most of the enemies forces to oppose us ; but your Grace's and Lord Marechalles taking up arms with as many of your friends and well-affected people will make a great diversion and contribut greatly to the hoped for success, which the justice of our cause gives us reason to expect and with the blessing of God I do not doubt of. My lord Marechall goes to you with armes and ammunition, the King designs for to goe to England, his presence there being absolutely necessary.

Pray God send us a good metting and doe me the justice to believe that I am with great truth and regard, My lord your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

ORMONDE.

This goes by my Lord Marchalle, being the first that goes to Scotland, the rest of your Grace's country men will follow as soon as possibly they can."

(*Unpublished Stuart Papers at Windsor.*)

*General Dillon to the Duke of Gordon*

"15 March 1719.

"MY LORD,

The bearer will inform you fully of ye enterprize now in hand to assert ye King's right. I don't question but your Grace will follow the steps of your ancestors in acting an honourable and vigorous part on this occasion. By doing so you will not only silence ye malice of your Enemy's but justly procure yourself ye esteem of all honest men and convince his Majesty of your true zeal for his service, of which you may be sure his due acknowledgment will not be wanting. I thought it proper to trouble you with this note, which I hope you'll receive as a proof of my concern for what regards you,

I am, with much respect, My Lord,

Your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,  
DE DILLON."

(*Ibid.*)

The remaining nine years of the Duke of Gordon's life were uneventful. He died on November 22, 1728, having had by his wife, Lady Henrietta Mordaunt :

Four sons—Cosmo, 3rd Duke, who took no part in politics. Lord Charles Gordon, an officer in the army on the Government side in 1745. Lord Lewis Gordon, an ardent adherent of Prince Charles. Lord Adam, afterwards Commander-in-Chief in Scotland.

And seven daughters, of whom the third married the 2nd Earl of Aberdeen.



The obituary notice of him in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 28th November 1728 perhaps errs on the side of eulogy :

“ On Friday morning last (November 22) about 1 o'clock, died at his seat of Gordon Castle, the most noble and illustrious Alexander, Duke of Gordon, of a malignant Indisposition in his breast, attended with a shortness of breath, which in six days carried off his Grace. A Prince, whom Heaven had blessed with a variety of uncommon endowments, if consummate Honour and integrity, an extensive Charity, innate love of virtue and a scrupulous aversion to whatever was vicious or irregular, all sweetened with a blest natural temper, be allowed to pass for ought ; and who, among the other shining qualifications worthy of his high birth, was so fully Master of that Humility so peculiar to his illustrious family, that he was justly esteemed the most affable of men living.”

His behaviour in the Rising is thus described (and perhaps more truly) by Robert Patten, himself a turncoat, who saved his own skin by giving evidence :

“ This Marquis, now Duke of Gordon, is accounted one of the most unconstant men of his Age, having in this very Rebellion acted so much the Trimmer, that whenever Opportunity served, he sided with the rising party ; thus when he heard nothing of the Chevalier's landing, he was inclinable to surrender to Mercy and made such advances as any man of Honour would have fixed to ; but the Pretender landing and his affairs, by his presence seeming to put on a better Face, he deserted his Speculations, and returned to the Old Cause. When Fortune put a second Frown upon the Cause he was inclinable again to submit ; but Jealousy made him mistrust the least hopes of abused Clemency, yet the goodness of his Majesty has extended itself in such a Latitude to him, that he enjoys his life and all ; which thinking People hope he will not abuse again.”

ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF GORDON  
(Mother of the Marquis of Huntly)

LADY ELIZABETH HOWARD, daughter of Henry, 6th Lord Norfolk, and 1st Earl of Norwich, married George, 1st Duke of Gordon, in 1676.

By birth and upbringing the Duchess was a Roman Catholic, as was her husband, who had been a soldier under Turenne, but she left him in 1696 and lived for some time in Brussels, where she had a sister, an Abbess. In 1697 the Duke had instituted a "suit of adherence" against her. Later, she lived in Edinburgh. She was always an ardent Jacobite, was one of those who entertained and encouraged Colonel Nathaniel Hooke in 1707, and corresponded a great deal with Queen Mary of Modena at St. Germain. In 1711 she caused much stir in Edinburgh by presenting to the Faculty of Advocates one of King James III.'s medals with "Reddite" and a map of the British Isles upon it.

Her activities in the Rising of 1715 seem to have been confined to urging her son to declare himself, and, later, to defending him from the censures of Seaforth and others with regard to his capitulation. A letter from Dr. Patrick Abercromby to Mar, 18th January 1717, shows her as endeavouring to get King James to write a letter "in her son's Vindication," and states that the Lord Justice Clerk had, a fortnight before the battle of Sheriffmuir, offered her articles of capitulation to send to her son.<sup>1</sup> James did not write a formal vindication, but in a letter to his mother, Queen Mary, from his sickbed at Avignon, 8th December 1716, he had already said, "Had

<sup>1</sup> *Stuart Papers.*

I been in a condition to do it, I had sooner mentioned to you the Marquis of Huntly and though I am not yet able to write much myself, yet I think 'tis better to send you this note to be communicated to him, though not in my own hand, than to defer it longer. I am very sensible of the great mortification it must be both to himself and his parents to know how many people have talked of him of late, and I look upon them all three as too well wishers of mine for to let them be any longer ignorant of my true sentiments in relation to them. You are, I believe, a witness yourself that even immediately after my return from Scotland I never doubted of his heart's being right towards me. I am still of the same opinion and as I am willing to pass over any past mistakes of judgment, so I would not have him think that they shall debar him from my favour and kindness, which his zeal and forwardness for my service may deserve hereafter and which his parents merits and his own good will may sufficiently entitle him to." <sup>1</sup>

The Duchess survived the Duke. On February 9, 1717, King James wrote to her son to condole with him on his father's death, December 1716, and said, "I desire you will remember me in a particular manner to your Mother on this dismal occasion." <sup>2</sup> She herself died in 1732, and is buried in Elgin Cathedral.

<sup>1</sup> *Stuart Papers.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

### III

#### GEORGE, 10th EARL OF MARISCHAL<sup>1</sup>

ELDEST son of William, 9th Earl Marischal, and Lady Mary Drummond, daughter of James, Earl of Perth (who was governor to King James in his youth).

George, Earl Marischal, was born in 1693, and succeeded his father in the title at the age of nineteen in 1712. He had already a commission from Queen Anne in Hyndford's Dragoons, and in January 1714 was appointed captain and lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd Troop of Horse Guards, but was shortly afterwards deprived of this post by the advice of the Duke of Argyll. The latter may have been aware that on the day of Queen Anne's death the young Earl Marischal had been advised by his colonel (Scott) and had seriously considered the proclaiming of King James at the head of his troop ; he afterwards bitterly regretted not having done so.

After his dismissal from the army, Marischal immediately set out for Scotland, and meeting his brother James (see page 229) in York on his way to seek a commission in the English army, turned him back. They returned to the North together, and at once threw in their lot with the Jacobite party. Marischal was from the beginning one of the prominent figures in Mar's army, being one of the few Jacobites who was a professional soldier. He was present at the hunting party on August 27th and at the Jacobite council of September 3rd (between those two dates having gone to Fetteresso and Dunnottar to summon his men<sup>2</sup>). He was also present when

<sup>1</sup> Now usually called the 9th, as the 1st and 2nd Earls were possibly the same.    <sup>2</sup> S.P. 54, 7, 95, and 54, 8, 13.



the Standard was raised on September 6th, and, a fortnight later, rode into Aberdeen with a large following, proclaimed the King, and assisted in the election of the Jacobite magistrates. A letter at Crathes Castle shows him, in spite of his youth, acting as Mar's lieutenant in bringing out others.

"To Sir Alexander Burnett of Leys, Baronett.

SIR,

These are in his Maj. name and authoritie, by virtue off a Power given me by ye Earle of Mar whom his Maj. hath been pleased to intrust with the direction of his affairs in this his ancient kingdome of Scotland, To requyre you with your best horses and armes and what men ye can rayse, to meet me at Stonehyve on Saturday next Oct. 1 at 12 o'clock and ffor which this shall be your warrand from, Sir,

Your hum. servant,

MARISCHALL.

Ellon. Sept. 25, 1715."

On the 7th October he joined Mar at Perth with a personal following of 300 horse and 500 foot. Sinclair says the numbers were much less, and complains that though Huntly was blamed for delaying so long in bringing up all his followers, Marischal, though universally praised, lived nearer to Perth and did not bring his as soon as he might have done. Sinclair has few good words to say for any of his fellow Jacobites, old or young, and on one occasion roundly calls Marischal a "lying boy." He gives Mar's opinion of him thus: "He knew the Earl of Marischal who had little or no estate, was a yonge man of ambition, and tho' his familie was sunk, yet the name of it had ane influence in the countrie, which he readilie made use of to resent the injurie done him in takeing away his regiment (*by King George*), and it being uneasie to him to accomodate himself to the way of liveing that his necessities reduced him



*From the portrait at Neuchatel, by kind permission of the Musée Historique.*  
GEORGE, 10TH EARL MARISCHAL.



to, after having so lately tasted the sweet of a regiment," further insinuates that Mar supplied him with money from the Public Chest. This seems an unworthy description of one who was perhaps the beau-ideal of a gallant young Jacobite, by family tradition and personal conviction; who also remained true to the Cause all through; refused, when invited by Sinclair to try and make terms for himself with Argyll, saying, "he would rather be hanged"; and throughout his life was one of the staunchest supporters of King James and his sons, though he disapproved of the behaviour of Prince Charles in his later years. He had not, of course, in 1715 very much military experience, but more than most of the Scots lairds. On the occasion of Mar's tentative advance, as far as Ardoch, when, according to Sinclair, the Jacobite army lay huddled together and in great danger from any sudden sortie from Stirling, "Marischal was the only one who seemed to reason, for, said he, the Duke of Argyll who had gone to Leith could not be back till twelve of the clock that night, and he knew his Grace's temper so well that he was sure he had ordered Whetham not to stir in his absence." This proved to be the case.

Marischal was a good cavalry officer, and had command of a squadron throughout the campaign. The mistake at Sheriffmuir whereby he and his men were in the centre instead of on the right is usually ascribed to the fact that the foot got out of line in going up the hill and bore to the right. More cavalry had to be diverted from the left to protect the right flank, and the left remained exposed, with dire results. But the centre did excellent work, pursuing the flying Whetham nearly to Stirling, and their inaction after they returned from the pursuit was entirely due to lack of orders from headquarters. After Sheriffmuir, Marischal remained in Perth, nursing his squadron which had lost a good many men—nine killed and more "returned home." As soon as he heard of the landing of the King in his own country, he, with



Mar, hastened to receive His Majesty at Fetteresso, and remained there with the King till the latter was sufficiently recovered from his ague to come south. At the formal entry into Dundee, Marischal rode on his master's right hand and was with him till he reached Scone ; formed part of the so-called Court there, and also attended him on the retreat north. When James decided (or was induced by Mar) to retire from Montrose to France, he wished that Marischal should be one of those to accompany him ; but the latter refused to desert his followers and remained with the army under General Gordon as long as it was in being, and was in command of the rear-guard, said to be 1,000 horse. It was he who rode to Gordon Castle to try and induce Huntly to " come out " again, but without result. After the dispersal of the army, he went to the Western Isles and escaped to France with his brother, being amongst those who joined the King at Avignon. He accompanied him to Italy, but later returned to France, and in 1719 was summoned to Spain to take command of a portion of Cardinal Alberoni's expedition to Scotland, and to lead the Highlanders in the ill-fated effort at a Rising which culminated in Glenshiel. He was badly wounded in that fight, but again escaped, although this time there was a price of £2,000 on his head, and he and his brother had some narrow escapes from capture. From that time he lived chiefly at Valencia, always in correspondence with his master, and once for a short time, and much against his inclination, held the seals as Secretary, but returned to Spain, saying the Jacobite Court, seething with intrigue, was " no place for an honest man." He took no active part in the Rising of 1745, distrusting all the plans of Balhaldy and John Murray of Broughton, though he remained at Boulogne, taking charge of reinforcements, and went to the Low Countries to obtain the ear of the King of France and ask for further help—a most ungrateful task at the moment, and quite fruitless.

Prince Charles, who knew his worth, much regretted his absence in Scotland, and in the brief hour of glory at Holyrood exclaimed, "I would rather he were here than a thousand men." When the tide turned against him, no doubt the unfortunate Prince regretted the absence of this faithful friend still more.

In the year 1748 Marischal went to join his brother in Prussia, and there began a life-long friendship with Frederick the Great. On 28th August 1751 Frederick appointed the Earl Marischal his ambassador to the Court of France. This, of course, gave some offence to the Court of St. James. Marischal had hoped it would be pleasing to King James, and on hearing to the contrary, wrote the following most courteous letter, now at Windsor :

*Lord Marischall to the King*

"Paris. Jan. 8, 1752.

"SIR,

By Mr. Edgar's letter to me I have reason to believe that my accepting the employment of Minister to the King of Prussia has been represented to Your Majesty in a way to hurt me in your good opinion, whereas I flattered my self that it would appear to Your Majesty in the same light as it did to your friends in generall who were glad of it, and as it appeared also to your enemys who made a formall opposition at the Court of France to my being received. I thought that the King of Prussia's choosing to confide his affairs in one who is attached to Your Majesty of so many years could in no way be prejudicial to your interest, and I hope Your Majesty will think so too. As to my not wearing the order <sup>1</sup> you honored me with, I did not wear it in Venice for the reason I then wrote and of which Your Majesty did not disapprove, the

<sup>1</sup> The Thistle. He seems, later, from his portrait, to have been honoured with the Garter, but there is no record of his creation, nor does his name appear in Ruvigny's list.

same subsisted at my arrival in Berlin, where I went meerey to see my brother without other design or expectation ; and when the King of Prussia, unasked by any one, gave me a pension, by which I could live with more decency and in some manner support that necessary to one who has one of the first orders in Europe, it would have been odd to have put it on in the face of the Queen Dowager of Prussia. Neither could I have done it without asking leave of the King of Prussia, and exposing perhaps Your Majesty's dignity to a refusal, for I do not remember that any of those who have had your order have wore it in all places where they have been, except those who were actually in the service of Spain, and not all of them neither. I am very sorry, Sir, your situation is such that any Court can make difficulty to acknowledge all is justly due to Your Majesty, and wish that it may soon be otherwise and that you may be restored to your kingdoms before this year be at an end, which I hope shall be followed by many happy to Your Majesty, having the honor to be (with) the most faithfull attachement and perfect respect,

Sir, Your Majesty's most faithfull, etc.,

MARISCHALL."

In 1759, after his brother's death, the Earl Marischal was sent by Frederick the Great as Ambassador to Madrid. While there he was able to render a signal service to Great Britain by sending to Pitt, in 1760, advance information of the "Family compact" between France and Spain.

In the previous year, and in *no* connection with this service, he had received a free pardon from King George II.<sup>1</sup> without, however, the reversal of the attainder, but including permission to inherit any property which might come to him. A year later he fell heir to the estates of his cousin the Earl

<sup>1</sup> Horace Walpole, commenting on this, wrote January 28, 1759 : "The King has granted my Lord Marischal's pardon, at the request of M. de Kniphausen. I believe the Pretender himself could get his attainder reversed, if he would apply to the King of Prussia."

of Kintore, though he would not assume that title, and in the spring of 1760 he had obtained permission from the Prussian king to go to England and Scotland, which latter, however, he did not visit until 1763.

A letter, now at Crathes Castle, to George Cumine of Pitullic, refers to this period. (The reference is, no doubt, to their days of hiding in 1716.)

“Madrid. 2nd Aprile 1760.

“SIR,

I received yours with great pleasure. As I have now few friends remaining at home, those I have become dearer. I long to see you (by day-light and without the need of a certain stair). I hope I may soon have that pleasure, for I always have and shall remember you and your constant friendship which has a most perfect and sincere return from,

Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant,  
MARISCHALL.”

On 15th June 1760 he was in London, and kissed the King's hands at Whitehall, but returned to his duties as Governor of Neuchâtel, having first taken the Oath of Allegiance (26th January 1761).

On August 14, 1763, he arrived in London again, and writes to George Cumine from Edinburgh, 23rd August :

“SIR,

I hope very soon to have the pleasure to see you in good health. I count to set out from hence about the beginning of next week and shall make little stay on the road. My long absence has made me a stranger to this country and to the ways of liveing and housekeeping. I shall be much obliged to you to meet me at Aberdeen and go with me for a month to Keith Hall (and if you can stay longer, the more the better) to give



me your friendly assistance. It will be a great and agreeable favour to Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

MARISCHALL."

(*Crathes Castle.*)

A grant having been made to him out of the proceeds of the sale of his forfeited estates, Marischal decided, in 1764, to buy back a part of these, but immediately sold it again. The sight of his ruined Castle of Inverugie was too heart-breaking, and he burst into tears on approaching it.<sup>1</sup> He, however, remained some time in Scotland, and even contemplated founding a little republic of letters at Keith Hall, of which the nucleus was to be Rousseau and David Hume. This idea, however, came to nothing. After so many years in Spain he found Scotland too cold and too narrow-minded—there was no post on Sundays—and, moreover, his friend, Frederick the Great, demanded his return to Prussia, saying, "If I had a fleet I would come and carry off my dear Mylord by force." Marischal returned and spent the remaining thirteen years of his life in Potsdam, where the King built him a house at Sans Souci, and treated him with every consideration. An English traveller who visited him in 1777 said that he was "as vigorous as ever in mind and body." He died in 1778, aged eighty-five—"the only true friend Frederick the Great ever had"—his eulogy by d'Alembert, the encyclopædist, being published in Berlin in the following year.

<sup>1</sup> It is said that his old nurse was there to greet him. She must have been a very old woman, as he himself was over seventy.

#### IV

### JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD KEITH

BROTHER of George, Earl Marischal, was born at Inverugie 16th June 1696, and thus only nineteen when the Rising broke out. He was on his way south to apply for a commission in the Royal army, when he encountered the Earl Marischal at York, and was easily persuaded to retrace his steps to Scotland and join the Jacobite Rising. He was with his brother throughout the campaign, and seems to have acted as his galloper at Sheriffmuir. After that action he received a special commission from King James to recruit men for his brother's troop. He has left *Memoirs of his life*, but these are chiefly of a date later than the Rising.

He writes, however, an interesting account of the Jacobite retreat, already quoted in part :

“ From Badenoch everyone took the road that pleased him best. . . . We, who had taken the party to get out of the kingdom, continued our march with Sir Donald McDonald's and Clanronald's regt., who were going to the western islands, where we arrived about the middle of March . . . and here we remained near a month . . . At last, about the middle of April, a ship sent by the King, arrived for us from France, in which we embarked to the number of about 100 officers, the 20th April (Old Style), and after a very pleasant passage arrived 12 of May (New Style) at St. Paul de Leon in Brittany.”

James Keith then went to Paris, where the Queen mother said she would send him to the Military Academy. But for a month he heard nothing of this, and as he writes, “ I lived most

of the time on selling horse furniture and other things of that nature." The rest of 1716 Keith passed at the Academy, pursuing his studies. Later, he was for a short time with the other Jacobites at Avignon.

The abortive Rising in 1719 found him still in France, whence he went with his brother to Spain, and was given a commission to return to France and stir up various other Jacobite leaders to join the expedition to Scotland, which they did at Stornoway. Like the Earl Marischal, he was wounded at Glenshiel, but escaped, lurked in the Highlands for some time, and thereafter lived almost entirely abroad.

He was first an officer in the Spanish army. In 1728 he entered the Russian service and was at once made a major-general. He paid a short visit to England in 1740, and was very graciously received by King George II., for though still an acknowledged Jacobite he had never been attainted.

On his return to Russia he was made Governor of the Ukraine, but left that country in 1747 and entered the service of Frederick the Great of Prussia, who made him a field-marshal. Two years later, when Governor of Berlin, he persuaded his brother, the Earl Marischal, to join him there. James Keith was killed, fighting gloriously at the battle of Hochkirchen, 14th October 1758, and a monument was erected to his memory in that town.

A fine statue of him, the gift of the old Kaiser (when King William of Prussia in 1868), adorns the town of Peterhead.

## V

### GENERAL ALEXANDER GORDON

ELDEST son of Alexander Gordon (Lord Auchintoul) and his wife, Isabel Gray of Braik, General Gordon was born at Auchintoul, 27th December 1669. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Paris to complete his education, and subsequently joined the French army, being an ensign in 1686 and captain later. In 1690 he was present at the siege of Namur, and proceeded to Russia in 1695, where his relative, General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, then held high command. He obtained a commission in the Russian army, and soon distinguished himself, being made a major in 1696. It is stated that his advancement was due to Peter the Great's appreciation of the way in which he stood up for Scotland at a Russian wedding, when he "beat 6 men." In the campaign against the Turks, in 1698, he was a lieutenant-colonel; on 30th November 1700 he was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Narva, and was kept in captivity in Sweden for seven years. In 1707 he was exchanged for a Swedish colonel, and on rejoining the Russian army was appointed, by Peter the Great, a brigadier, and ultimately major-general. He served against the Poles from 1708 to 1710. On his father's death he resigned his commission in the Russian army, returning to Scotland in 1711, when he entered into possession of his estates. He improved the house of Auchintoul, and in 1712 bought the property of Laithers.

In 1715 his full energies were given to the Jacobite cause. According to the Stuart Papers, he was, on 7th June 1715,



asked by Lord Huntly to dine at Gordon Castle "to concert methods what they were to do afterwards." Alexander Gordon attended Mar's hunting party at Braemar on 27th August, and was also present on 3rd September at the Jacobite meeting at Aboyne. After the Standard had been raised at Braemar, the General was sent to enlist men in the Western Highlands, and succeeded in collecting about four thousand. Having attacked Fort William, unsuccessfully, he joined Mar in Perth on 10th November, and commanded the centre of the line at Sheriffmuir. When the Old Chevalier set out for France from Montrose on 4th February 1716, General Gordon received a commission from him as Commander-in-Chief, with power to treat with the enemy. The Chevalier also wrote the General a letter in which he gave the reasons for his leaving the kingdom, and left with him all the money that was in the paymaster's hands for the benefit of the army. From this time General Gordon conducted the retreating army northwards with such masterly skill that, though closely pursued, he lost but few men on the way, and reached Aberdeen on 6th February. He continued to command the remnants of the forces through Aberdeenshire and part of Banffshire, then turned westwards through Badenoch, and ultimately reached Ruthven, where the army dispersed. After wandering about the Highlands for some time, General Gordon, in company with Lord Seaforth, Clanranald, Cameron of Lochiel, and several others, escaped from the Western Isles in July 1716, and sailed for France. In August of that year he was in Paris, and in September at Avignon. He was settled at Toulouse in April 1717, for Clanranald, writing to Mar from there, says that "General Alexander Gordon under the name of Dr. John Anderson had taken up his quarters at a little grange near Toulouse with 2 or 3 other friends." The General wrote to John Paterson, from Toulouse on 20th October 1717: "We have lived here ever since our melancholy parting, very privately, still in hopes ere long to be effectually employed

in our Master's service. We drink frequently your good health, notwithstanding this country air does not agree very well with us, for almost all of us have had fevers." (*Stuart Papers*.)

General Gordon appears always to have been anxious to make another attempt in favour of the Old Chevalier, and in 1719 his wish was gratified. James Keith, brother to the Earl Marischal, was sent to France (from Spain) to warn the Jacobite exiles there of the intended expedition from Spain, prepared for the Duke of Ormonde by Cardinal Alberoni; part of it to be commanded by the Earl Marischal. "About the end of February, Keith arrived at Bordeaux. Here he met General Gordon, Brigadier Campbell and some others to whom he delivered his message and left them some money to hire a ship to transport themselves to Scotland." (*The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*. Scottish History Society, 1895.) W. K. Dickson, in a note, says that General Gordon was too ill to go, but a letter, dated Madrid, 16th April, from Alberoni to the Old Chevalier (*Stuart Papers*), states: "General Gordon with 40 officers *embarked* at Bordeaux on two Swedish frigates bought by him." Shortly after the landing in Scotland, took place the lamentable defeat at Glenshiel, from which Alexander Gordon was lucky enough to escape and once more returned to France, to live the life of an unemployed exile for several years, though he was offered the post of a lieutenant-general in the Spanish army, which he declined.

He had been attainted in 1716, but under the name of Thomas instead of Alexander Gordon, and the House of Lords held, in 1720, that the attainder was ineffectual, owing to this wrong description. The case was quoted, many years later, in Lord Pitsligo's appeal. "Major General Thomas Gordon, Laird of Auchintoul, was declared to stand attainted of High Treason, if he should not surrender himself on or before the 30th day of June 1716. No surrender was made. But the General, in the year 1719, presented his exceptions

to the Court of Session, claiming the Property of his Estate upon this ground, 'That his true name was Alexander which was *not* insert in the Act.' The Court found, 'That he was not attainted, and sustained his Exception.' The case was appealed to the House of Lords : And, after it had been fully debated by Council on Both Sides, the Lords adjourned the Debate till the next day, in order to have the Opinion of all the Judges of England : when the Lord Chief Justice Pratt delivered the Opinion of them all, that this Attainder of Major-General Thomas Gordon, Laird of Auchintoul, did not attain the Respondent, whose name was Alexander : and that if Alexander Gordon, upon such an Attainder, had been brought to the King's Bench Bar, and had made this matter appear, the Court could not have awarded execution against him. Upon which the Decree was affirmed."

General Gordon was at Boulogne in 1725, and returned to Scotland in 1727, after which he settled down to the peaceful enjoyment of his estate of Auchintoul.

He married twice :

(1) 15th February 1698, Katherine Elizabeth (died 1739), daughter of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries and widow of Colonel Strasburg, by whom he had several children, who all died in infancy.

(2) June 1740, Margaret (died 1788), daughter of Sir Thomas Moncreiff, Bart.

His repose at Auchintoul was somewhat disturbed during the '45, when, though too old to fight, he was invaluable in counsel, and was called the "Nestor of the Rising." Lord Lewis Gordon, in writing to John Murray of Broughton, records how he visited the General at Auchintoul and asked his advice on matters of policy as well as strategy. General Gordon wrote a *History of Peter the Great*, published in Aberdeen in 1755 ; he had also previously composed a heroic poem entitled "The Prussiad," for which he received a congratulatory letter from Frederick the Great.

#### GENERAL ALEXANDER GORDON

He died at Auchintoul, 31st July 1751, and was buried in Marnoch churchyard, but no monument marks his last resting-place. Having no surviving issue, he was succeeded in Auchintoul by his nephew, Alexander Gordon of Laithers, who was "out" in the '45. In the *Annals of George I.* General Gordon is described as "a very good officer of long experience and great bravery." It is sad to think that no memorial remains to this distinguished soldier.



## VI

### JOHN GORDON (of Glenbucket)

GLENBUCKET was almost the best-known of the partisans of the Stuarts in Scotland, being equally prominent in the Rising of 1715 and in that of 1745, though recent researches among the State Papers make it plain that in the interval between these two events he made his peace with the Government, and acted, to a certain extent, as the agent of the latter. He was born in 1673, as he himself says that in 1747 he was seventy-four years of age. It is curious that he should be so widely known, both in his own day and since, as "Glenbucket," as if it were a territorial title of great importance. Even King George II., in 1745, is said to have lived in terror of "de Great Glenboggled." The estate was bought in 1701 by George Gordon of Knockespock (grandfather), and his eldest son, John (father of the Jacobite), and was sold by the "Great Glenbucket," in 1737, to Lord Braco, afterwards Lord Fife, so that for thirty-six years *only* the family possessed what was in reality quite an unimportant property, lying in the Highlands of Aberdeenshire and formerly owned by another family of Gordon, connected with those of Park.

The exact boundaries of the estate are given in an interesting letter of 13th December 1736, from John Gordon of Glenbucket to the purchaser, Lord Braco.

"MY LORD,

As to the marches of Glenbucket you want to know

about, I possessed them since I had concern. They are as follows :

On the south and west side from ye bounds of ye Kirktown to the head of little Glen nochtie there is ane Letter of the Marches. On the North and East side beginning at ye water of Don and up by ane Dyke at ye head of the lands of Dales park, till you come to ane wall on ye face of ye brae above ye lands of foresaid town to the top of the hill above Dalers park and from that as wood and water shears till you come to Craigenenum. From thence down the burn of the West Line to the Inver thereof. From that Westward up the south side of the burn runs beyonth the Buckie of old Diveran till ye come to the Burn betwixt the Buckie Calladie burn of the Garbet. Up that Burn betwixt Muckle and little Garbet till ye come to the shoulder of ye hill above the Muckle Garbet where there is a Glack or hollow twixt the said hill and the hill above Rinlange ; and down that Glack twixt the hills till ye come to the burn runs to the scores. Till ye come to a shealing belongs to Glenbucket on the north side of a little burn, under a great reddish rock and up the south side of that burn till ye come to the Gell-cairn and going the top thereof as wind and water shears till ye come to the march with little Glennockle. This is all I know or pretend to, wherein I was never interrupted, only one Andrew Gall lived in Breaklach told many years ago that I had made encroachment near the Buckie of Old Deveron which I beged Duke George Gordon to cause examine and accordingly he sent his Baillie and examined witnesses, the Duke present. When the witnesses for me were examined and when his Grace found the thing to be false and Gauld his impertinence to me, caused him to be put in the Stocks and desired good neighbourhood in all time coming, which has still continued and I never heard more about it. The Extract of the examination of the witnesses I have in my custody and shall give you. There is eight or ten pleughs I cannot be positive which, pays ten marks to the Breacklay

yearly for liberty to pasture on the sandhill Buckie which has continued for the space of many years before, I believe, I was born. At least still I have been informed so, since I knew Glenbucket which will be thirty seven or thirty-eight years backward, and I am my Lord,

Your Lops most humb. and most obed. servant,

JON. GORDON."

(*Family Papers.*)

The price paid for the estate is not precisely known, though stated to be £700 !

Of the early life of John Gordon of Glenbucket nothing is known save that he was at King's College, Aberdeen, at the same time as Lord Lovat, some years his senior. After his education was finished, he returned to the paternal estate and became Regality-Baillie for Strathbogie and Badenoch to his family chieftain, the Duke of Gordon, being more particularly under the orders of the Marquess of Huntly, occupying much the same position towards him as did John Forbes of Inverernan towards the Earl of Mar. He was very active in forcing out the tenants, as soon as the Marquess of Huntly had decided this should be done, and seems to have had some previous experience of soldiering, as he was given a colonel's commission very early in the campaign, and was in command of the party of foot at Dunfermline as well as of the "Highland Foot" during Mar's abortive march to Ardoch and Auchterardoch while Argyll was in Edinburgh. At Sheriffmuir he commanded Huntly's battalion of foot in the centre under Mar, and he is credited with the ejaculation, on witnessing the irresolution of the Commander-in-Chief, "Oh for an hour of Dundee !" It is probable that he had fought at Killiecrankie as a boy of sixteen. Mar seems to have depended on him a good deal, in the *early* stages, as in the Jervise MSS. Collection (*Library S. A. Scot.*) there is a letter :

JOHN GORDON

*Earle of Mar to Glenbucket, from Mullen*

“ Sept. 19 at night.

“ SIR,

I cannot express to you the surprise and concern I am in at Lord Huntly's delaying the sending of his men so long. I have wrote him again, but what can I say more than I did formerly, and how farr has that prevailed? The Athole people have behaved nobley in spite of the Duke, and Ld. Tullibardine has done the King real and effectual service. We shall have the whole men of this country to-morrow and the Duke left alone. Would his men have obeyed him, he designed to have intercepted my passage, so you may judge what danger I was in by the people not joining me I expected. I am obliged for your concern and Zeal and I know you will do all you can to forward people. I'll be still in hopes of seeing you soon with a goodly company, and I still wish Lord Huntly would send his Highland men straight here, but by the delay I fear he will not—should anything happen amiss to us here by it, he would repent of it when it would be too late—I wrote to you to Inverrichie which I hope you got, which is all I have time now to say, but let me hear from you again immediately and I am, good John Glenbucket

Yrs. etc.

MAR.”

Two hundred of the best of the men under Glenbucket deserted just before the battle of Sheriffmuir, but for this he cannot be blamed. When Huntly retired to the North, in December 1715, Glenbucket remained some time longer in Perth, and was there when the Chevalier arrived. He also endeavoured in vain to bring his master back from Gordon Castle.

After the general Jacobite retreat and the final dispersal of that part of the army which had held together under General



Gordon, Glenbucket presented himself to Brigadier Grant, the Lord-Lieutenant of Banffshire, with all the men who held land as subtenants from him and gave up their arms. The Brigadier, who no doubt knew him well, lost no time in enlisting his services for pacifying the rest of the county, and inducing all those over whom he had influence to come in also. He was given passes from the English generals, and acted quite openly as a *Government agent*. This part of his career was either unknown to or glossed over by those who have held Glenbucket to have been the fine flower of Jacobitism, and the soul of the Jacobite tradition that flourished in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire between 1716 and 1744, as well as the main instigator of the Forty-five.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of his valuable assistance, however, he was ordered to prison in Edinburgh, and writes from there, on April 14, 1716, to Brigadier Grant, detailing his own services in disarming Badenoch and Strathspey. "After the honor of waiting of you, I made all haist to convene my wyfe and children and come to this country to waite your commands, and doe all in my power to keep this and above peaceable, and lykewyss to waite of General Cadogan to offer my mein service and endeavours to oblige the Highlanders to surrender and give in their arms." He does not seem, however, to have been altogether trusted, and on presenting himself to General Cadogan he was arrested and told that "all in my circumstance was to goe to prison by the king's command. However, I must own he treat me most civilie, put me under no guard at all, allowed me, after supping with him to goe that night where I pleased, for he lodged at my house, and retorne next day quhich I did, and his commands were given me by Colonel Grant to go to the Highlands and advyse them to give up their arms and surrender and meet him again at Inverness, quhich accordingly I did and I cannot but say with success. The General, when I returned from the Highlands, desyred

<sup>1</sup> See W. B. Blaikie's *Origins of the Forty-five*.

## JOHN GORDON

Colonel Grant to order me south after my Lord Huntly, but obliged me, or I should goe South, to make another inquirie thorow Badenoch, Strathavin and Glenlivet for arms and how soon this is done, I come south after my chief (*i.e.* to imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle). Confynment will shorten my days werie soon, for if I did not ryde everie day, I could not leive." He did, however, survive quite successfully in Edinburgh until the beginning of September, marched to Carlisle with the other prisoners, and was not released until December.

He was a fellow prisoner with Thomas Tulloch of Tannachy (*q.v.*) and his "bedfellow" in one of the press beds these unfortunate prisoners had to have made at their own expense.

Unpublished Papers from the Public Record Office give the subsequent story.

Colonel George Carpenter writes from Edinburgh, September 22, 1716, to Lord Townshend :

"MY LORD,

I take the Liberty to recommend to your Ldp. the case of John Gordon of Glenbucket, who is one of the prisoners sent from the Castle of Edinburgh to Carlisle.

The enclosed is his case, and I have before me Brigadier Grant's originall Certificate that he surrendered to him on the 6th of March and compeared again before him on the 10th with all the men on his Tack of Ruffen who delivered up their arms, and Brigadier Grant gave him a protection under hand and seal ('tis on the same paper with the certificates).

I have also before me lord Cadogan's originall pass through the Highlands when he sent him to Lockabar. I have the originall letter from Brigadier Grant to him and the account of Armes that he procured to be brought in, amounting to 153 guns, 185 swords, 26 Pistols and 19 Targetts.

Now, my Lord, this Mr. Gordon not only surrendered and

gave up his armes, but also obliged all those near him to do the same, upon which he had not only a protection, but was employed both by my lord Cadogan and Brigadier Grant, who acknowledged he did good service. Had your Ldp. knowne all this, to have rightly informed his R.H. of itt, I believe he had not been order'd to Carlisle, and, pardon me if I say too much, that itt will be a discreditt to his Majesty's service and to his Commanding officers, if a man who submitted to them, then was protected, entrusted and employed by them severall times to persuade others to surrender, where he did good service, should afterwards be tried in common with others who were taken in action or stood out to the last till taken. I knew him nott, as he march'd to Carlisle, but the Marquis of Huntly, whose steward he is, engages that he can and will do considerable service by keeping all absolutely quiet in the Highlands about Badenoch—Therefore I humbly hope your Ldp. will be pleas'd to move his R.H. and obtain an order to discharge him without tryall and the sooner 'tis done 'twill have a better grace and engage him the more ; he will certainly come straight hither and take my directions, then go to the Highlands with Capt. Grant and be very serviceable." (*S.P.* 54, 12, 190.)

A paper enclosed, called "The case of John Gordon of Glenbucket," repeats all the above details, and adds that "having seen Lord Cadogan, he was sent out again and acted so wise and effectual a part that he succeeded in persuading Lochiel's people to surrender their arms, after the officer and party sent there was despairing of their coming in, and was just beginning to set fire to Lochiel's house. Lord Cadogan was so well pleased that he desired him upon parole to come to Edinburgh and stay there till his Lp.'s arrival, which he accordingly did. After which, out of favour to him, he was allowed to be in the same prison with Lord Huntly for a short time, till being very indisposed by an Astma, under which illness

## JOHN GORDON

he has of a long time laboured, he was by General Sabine's advice and order and Brig<sup>r</sup> Preston's concurrence, admitted out of prison upon five hundred pounds bail and had the liberty of Edinburgh and four miles round given him. But, just after, the Lord Justice Clerk coming down, he was recalled to his former prison, and accordingly immediately obey'd, where he has been, till now sent to Carlisle. He hopes the good services he has done the Govt. will plead his pardon and get him Liberty to return and live quietly in his house in Badenoch, when he will do his Maj<sup>ts</sup> Govt. still good service by keeping that and Lochaber peaceable."

A copy is also enclosed of a letter from Brigadier Grant, dated April 24th, promising to do all he can for Glenbucket.

Pardon was granted, and Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, wrote to Brigadier Stanwix, Commanding Officer at Carlisle. (*P.R.O. Letter Book.*)

"Whitehall. October 16, 1716.

"SIR,

Application having been made to H.R.H. on behalf of John Gordon of Glenbucket, now in prison in Carlisle, there appear several circumstances, which render his case very favorable. I am commissioned to signify to you his R.H. pleasure that you give order for setting the said John Gordon att Liberty.

TOWNSHEND."

On 27th October General Carpenter wrote to Lord Townshend from Edinburgh (*S.P.* 54, 12, 226): "Mr. Gordon of Glenbucket is come hither and expresses the highest gratitude and loyalty, protesting he will employ his whole life in endeavours to do his Majesty and his Govt. the best service he can. Lord Huntly, Sir William Gordon, Lt. Governor of Fort William, Glenbuckett and I have been consulting what he can do at present and are of opinion he should immediately



go and cause all armes in Badenoch and Lockabar that are not already surrendered to be forthwith delivered in, and to see in what posture these parts are, so to meet me at Inverness with an account of everything and his opinion of what more may be necessary for the King's services. Lord Huntly and he seem to be very sincere, and I am persuaded will keep all these parts quiet. The station where Rob Roy keeps is att a great distance, butt Glenbucket will assist in any method that can be propos'd to apprehend that Robber."

It seems important to give these papers *in full* as showing the actual attitude of the famous Glenbucket at the end of the Rising of 1715.

After the ill-fated attempt of 1719 he appears to have been acting again as informer and agent for Lord (formerly General) Carpenter, to whom he writes from—

"Gordon Hall on 29th August 1719.

"MY LORD,

I had the honour of your Lordship's by last post, whereby I am sorie to understand your health obliges you to go to ye Bath, but I hope and heartily wish speedie recoverie. As to ane meeting of the Rebells in Glengarry his Interest, you Lop was justly informed but not as to ye numbers. I can assure there were not above six or seaven gentlemen (and that if attented) with no doubt a few servants. Seaforth and Tulliebardine being two of the number. The place of meeting was not within twenty miles of Glengarie's house, but it appears he still labours under ye misfortune to be misrepresented, tho I cannot omit to inform your Lop. that about the later end of Jully or beginning August, Glengarie had certain accounts that some gentlemen had gone north and were asking after Tulliebardine, Seaforth and others of the rebells with letters and intelligence to them and being certainly informed that they had gone into Knoydart, he sent his brother orders to apprehend them and send them to Inverlochy to Sir Robert Pollock

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—which order his brother put into execution and sent two gentlemen, prisoners—but unluckily were retaken by one McGrigor of Downan within six miles of the Garisone. This I had yesterday from ane good author and that Sir Robert Pollock had sent his thanks. Tho the thing miscarried, inclination was good. As I took leave by my last to acquaint your Lop that these misfortunate people wants not incouragement—I continue to assure your Lop so, tho I must own that its slightly grounded—and I take it to be either from a set of people that wants to have the Government at expense to keep a great many troops on foot, or the destruction of so many people that will be deluded and so blynded that they cannot or at least will not see. I know notwithstanding they are endeavouring to get abroad, yet against next post I believe I shall give your Lordship more particular accounts of and shall alwayse beg ye honor of your Lop's command and sincerely continue My Lord Yr. Lop's

Most humble obedient and obliged servant whyll

JNO. GORDON."

Endorsed by General Carpenter—"Letter from Glenbucket who lives near Ruthven in Badenoch."

He is next heard of in the year 1724, when he was over fifty, and from his sickbed managed to defeat and drive off a party of six Macphersons who set upon him with murderous intent.

A hitherto unpublished letter to Lord Pitsligo, in 1742, shows him on very friendly terms with that noble Jacobite.

*John Gordon of Glenbucket to Alexander Lord Forbes of Pitsligo.*

"MY LORD,

I am much obliged to your Lop for your concern for me. I got home with trouble and obliged to take a vomite and this day I thank God I am prettie eassie and I'me hopefiell

my daughter Jeanie will have no feavour, being prettie well since last night. I was assisted up stairs frighted her sickness away. As to Boynlie his affair your Lop needs take no trouble till your Convenience, your word is sufficient if sure of lyfe. I wish your Lop long lyfe and health, I with all my concerns here offer our most dutiful respects to your Lop and my Lady Pitsligoe. I continue, My Lord,

Your Lop's most humble and most obedient servant,  
ffraserbrough.

J. GORDON.

18 June 1742."

(*MSS. at Fettercairn.*)

John Gordon of Glenbucket long owned a house in Fraserburgh, where he lived occasionally. It was known as "The World's End," and after the failure of the Rising of 1745-46, when all his property was forfeited to the Crown, this house was offered for sale by public roup in Edinburgh, 2nd July 1766.

In the year 1737 he sold his estate of Glenbucket, and with the proceeds went to Rome, where he was no doubt instrumental in raising the hopes of James's Court as to the possibility of another Jacobite rising; but his position in the matter seems to have been much exaggerated. He brought no mandate with him from any chieftains or lairds of the North,<sup>1</sup> and he was not one of those who, in 1741, signed the famous memorial to Cardinal Fleury promising that Scotland would rise and put 20,000 men on foot the moment the French king sent them arms and money. This effort was engineered by Macgregor of Balhaldy, and the plans for the Rising of 1744 (eventually 1745) were then in his hands and those of Murray of Broughton. Glenbucket, however, brought back with him from Rome a major-general's commission. He certainly shares with Lord Pitsligo the credit for having "brought out" so many Aberdeenshire and

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* W. B. Blaikie's *Origins of the Forty-five*, page 25.

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Banffshire men to join Prince Charles in August and September 1745. Numbers of those tried at Carlisle gave this as an excuse for their actions. He himself joined the Prince on August 18, 1745, "an old man, much crouched (he was seventy-two years of age) on a little grey beast," and his action seems to have surprised some of his contemporaries; Lord President Forbes writing to a friend that he had "confidence in my old friend Glenbucket's prudence and temper." Prudence, however, was thrown to the winds, and none was more active in the Prince's service than old John Gordon. He was a member of the Prince's council, took part in the expedition into England, and was present both at Falkirk, January 19th, and Culloden, April 16th, 1746. His wanderings after the disaster of the latter date, and his final escape to Sweden and then to France, belong rather to the history of the '45 than to that of the '15.

He died at Boulogne-sur-Mer, 16th June 1750, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

He had married, nearly fifty years before, Jean, elder daughter of Harry Forbes of Boyndlie, and had four sons, three of whom were "out" with him in 1745, and seven daughters, three of whom married other Jacobites.



## VII

### THE HON. JOHN GORDON (of Aboyne, who denied having been "out")

THIRD son of Charles, 1st Earl of Aboyne, and Lady Elizabeth Lyon, he was born in 1677 and entered the College at Douai in 1685, aged eight years, with his brothers Charles and George, respectively eleven and ten. After completing his education he lived much abroad, being greatly devoted to study. He returned to Scotland some time before the Rising of 1715 in order to take up the duties with his brother George as joint guardians with Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse of his orphan nephew, John, 3rd Earl of Aboyne—his brother, the 2nd Earl, having died in 1702. He lived at Dee Castle, five miles from Aboyne, with his elder brother, George, who was something of a recluse, and (some accounts say) a priest. Though John in his petition maintained that he only frequented the Jacobite headquarters in order to confer upon estate matters with his fellow guardian, Auchterhouse, and went unarmed, yet eye-witnesses state that he was present with the Earl of Mar at Glenbucket on August 30th, even if, as he swears, he was *not* present at the meeting at Aboyne on September 3rd.

Moreover, it was conclusively proved that it was he who personally forced out many of the tenants of his nephew, the Earl of Aboyne, and marched with them to Perth.

He fought at Sheriffmuir, was taken prisoner there, and kept in Edinburgh Castle till sent with other prisoners to Carlisle in September 1716.

At his trial he cleverly used the fact that he was accused of

being in arms at Perth on November 28th when he was actually in prison at the time, to throw discredit on the rest of the indictment. His "case" and his petition, which lie in manuscript in the City Chambers, Edinburgh, are sufficiently curious to be worth inserting. (The petition is also in the Record Office.)

They have not previously been printed.

"Case of Mr. John Gordon, uncle to the Earl of Aboyne, concerning the indytmnt of high treason brought against him before his Majesties Justices of Oyer and Terminer at Carlisle in the Countie of Cumberland.

The indictment sets forth that Mr. John Gordon did levie war against his present Majestie King George etc. in so far that on the 28 day of November in the second year of his Majesties Reign he with a great multitude of Rebells and armed men did assemble themselves in a warlike Manner at the Town of Pearth in the sherifdome of Pearth in order to dethrone and murder his Majestie etc.

Answer and defences for Mr. John Gordon the Prisoner.

*Primo*, he denyes the whole indictment, as to the tyme, fact, forme and conclusion thereof, and as a demonstration that he could not be guilty of the said treason, at the tyme and place therein and above sett down, the Prisoner can prove very clearly by many witnesses now in Carlisle that on the said twenty eight day of November and for several days preceeding, and all along after the same he was keep'd Prisoner within the Castle of Edinborough in Midlothian, thirty miles distant from Pearth, so the Prisoner proving his being 'Alibe' at the tyme mentioned in the indictment, and on which precise tyme only the witnesses could depone before the grand jury, and seeing by law nothing can be added to, or amended of the said indictment, therefor the Prisoner ought to goe free and be found not guilty of the indictment neither indeed could he bee guilty thereof for the Reason foresaid.

*2<sup>nd</sup>o*, altho' the Prisoner humbly supposes that in law he needs not say anything now against that said indictment, yet for informing his Councel of the true state of his case, he sayeth that he having travelled abroad in foreign cuntries above two thirds of his life he came home to Scotland and was leading a private cuntrey life only fourteen months before the late Rebellion did break out first in these parts, and altho' the contrivers of it had their first meeting at Aboyne, and on his nephew the Earles ground, and att the nixt door to the place where the Prisoner lived, yet he refused to be present at that and all such meetings or to concern himself therewith, or in any of these Councels actings or Measures.

*3<sup>ti</sup>o*, that Mr. George Gordon the Prisoners Elder Brother and Mr. Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse Guardians and cheef Managers to the Earle of Aboyne being both at once disabled from acting his affairs, the first Earles Uncle and nearest in blood being confined to his bed by reason of a broken legg and the other the Earles Uncle on the Mother side by his being in the Army with the Rebels, the Prisoner as next in blood to the family was necessarily obliged to take the cair and inspection of his Nephew's affairs, for preserving them from imminent danger and ruine att such a criticall juncture, and seeing nothing could legaly be done therein without the consent approbation and instructions of the said Mr. Patrick Lyon; the prisoner owns and confesses that he was obliged to goe frequently to him concerning these affairs, whilst he was in arms with the Rebels, otherwayes to have suffered the Earles affairs to have gone into total confusion but he had no other common concern with them, nor in their warlike matters.

*4<sup>th</sup>*, so cautious was the prisoner that when he was necessarily obliged to goe to Pearth and converse with Auchterhouse concerning his nephew's affairs, he the Prisoner to avoid all manner of suspicion did never so much as ryde with or carye any arms or yet allowed his servant to cary any.

*5<sup>th</sup>*, that when Auchterhouse did force out and cary away

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several of the Earle of Aboyne's men the Prisoner expressly refused to bee present or have any manner of concern with them, and had he had the mind and inclination to have gone unto the Rebellion none can reasonably suppose that he would have refused to goe with or command his nephew's men he being at the tyme living amongst them."

"PETITION

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Petition of John Gordon of Aboyne now a prisoner in the Castle of Carlisle  
*sheweth*

That your Petitioner for the most part of his Life having travelled abroad and followed his studies in foreigne countries Returned home to Scotland but a few months before the Breaking out of the late Rebellion with intention there to dedicate himself wholly to his books and retirement But the Earle of Aboyne your petitioner's nephew being an infant, etc. as above . . ."

(He then repeats the whole substance of his "Case" above, and ends) :

"That your Petitioner never went to Perth with any arms nor permitted his servants to carry any, that he never was conversant in military affairs But always adicted to Letters. That he would never be prevailed upon to come to any of the Rebells consultations nor to declare himself in their interests.

Your Petitioner after his being brought hither Did by his Humble Petition to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales acknowledge his sorrow and begged pardon for transgressing the laws and his Duty to your *Majtie*.

This Request your Petitioner now humbly repeates to your *Majtie* and if Royall mercy be extended to him his Life your *Majties* gift shall be Devoted to your *Majties* service.



Your Petitioner has endeavoured to lay hold of your Majties offers of mercy by pleading guilty to his indictment."

There is also a letter which he wrote, from his prison in Carlisle, to Lord Huntly, who had remained in Edinburgh Castle.

"MY LORD,

I humbly thank your Lordship for the ten guineas Glen Bucket gave me yesterday in your name, and God will reward you for the care you have of my nephew and niece. I hate either to be troublesome or burdensome, but as I am circumstanciate, I must accept of what providence sends by putting in good peoples harts to supply me in my wants. I only am embarrased how to show my gratitude, neither should I have been so long strange or silent, but I am perplext not knowing whether my writting would please or offend. And as heirtofor I have been so unlucky as to displease, tho unknowingly nor with intention, so now I am shy to put myself in further hazard not knowing well what to say or how I would be taken up. But bee persuaded as still I have, so ever had, a natural inclination to love and serve you, thence it is easy to judge how mortifying it is to me to live in your displeasure. God and my own conscience know I am innocent, nor say I this out of any interested end, but only for love and justice sake. God send you sudenly your liberty and I doubt not but that youl doe what lyes in your power to procure me myne. I again return thanks for all yr. favour and am with all Respect and Gratitude. May it please yr. Lordship—yr. obliged Humble Serv<sup>t</sup> and affect<sup>c</sup> Cusen

JOHN GORDON, Aboyne. [*sic*]

Carlisle Castle, 21st October 1716."

(*Gordon Castle MSS.*)

John Gordon was among those prisoners at Carlisle who

THE HON. JOHN GORDON

were discharged for "Lack of Proceedings," and survived until 1762, dying at Edinburgh on July 22nd of that year, aged eighty-five.

He was a man of much culture and learning, and is said to have instructed Henry Mackenzie, author of the *Man of Feeling*, in the Italian language.

## VIII

### JOHN FARQUHARSON (of Invercauld)

SECOND son of Alexander Farquharson of Invercauld and his wife, Isabella, daughter of William Mackintosh, he was born in 1674, and married four times.

(1) Isabella, eldest daughter of Sir Alexander Burnett of Craigmyle.

(2) Christian, daughter of Sir Robert Menzies of Weem.

(3) Margaret, daughter of Lord James Murray (her children were James, who succeeded to Invercauld, and the famous "Colonel Anne" of the '45, who married her cousin, Æneas Mackintosh of Mackintosh).

(4) Jean Forbes of Waterton.

John Farquharson, though it seems he was a Jacobite at heart, was unwilling to follow Mar when the Standard was first raised. Possibly he knew his feudal superior too well.

An anonymous Government informer wrote to Sir James Steuart of Goodtrees that "The Laird of Invercauld, on pretence of going to some fairs, has left his own house, being unwilling to follow Mar's measures . . . the Earl of Mar and the rest were extremely out of temper by the Lairds of Invercauld, Abergeldie and some others deserting them." (*S.P.* 54, 7.)

In any case, Mar made free with the house of Invercauld, held his meetings there, issued proclamations, and sent out the Fiery Cross—and Farquharson, finding himself by these means

deeply involved, returned, and was present at Aboyne on September 3rd, though, with Abergeldie, he was placed under guard and not allowed to take part in the councils of that day. Later he seems to have made up his mind to join the Rising, and was present with the Earl Marischal when the latter proclaimed King James at Aberdeen on September 20th.

Willing or unwilling, he came to Perth with Mackintosh of Mackintosh on October 5th, and when the force under Mackintosh of Borlum was dispatched to the south, he commanded the Aberdeen contingent, which formed part of it. At the unfortunate battle of Preston he was in command of the bridge head, with 100 foot. "He was a good officer and very bold man, and would have defended that important pass of the bridge to the last Drop and till the rest had advanced and drawn themselves out of the town but he was ordered to retreat to Preston." (Patten.) He was one of the prisoners sent to London, where he was confined in the Marshalsea, and from there wrote the following remarkable letter to his cousin at the Hague. (S.P. 54, 11, 165.)

"1st March 1716.

"To Col. Francis Farquharson at the Hague.

DEAR SIR,

Having the misfortune to be here a prisoner I am obliged to make application to my friends, and their's none in whom I place more confidence than yourself—I have been most barbarously and inhumanely treated by my superior the Earl of Mar. . . . How he fettered and imprisoned my servants, making enquiry for Armes, how he pressed out my tenants, how I myself was thereafter carried to Perth, how basely he abused me when brought there and how he ordered a party of horse to attend me untill I was embarked for crossing the Firth, that any possibility of escaping might be prevented. I say I shall not trouble you with a narrative of these



or their aggravating circumstances, since they would swell beyond the bounds of a missive. The reason of all this bad usage and his Lordship's inveterate malice was, that first he was to be a Leading card to all the nation in that Rebellion, and mine and my friends and neighbours (by my advyce and example) resolute dissent and abstention did almost crush his puissant project in the bud. For that of his 800 men proposed he could never by all his hostilities and cruelties exceed 300 ; he lost near 3 full weeks tyme (after my leaving him), which he employed in using threats and intreaties, thinking to bring me and my friends into his measures, but all in vain for Iff King George and his Government knew of what service my behaviour was to them at that juncture I rather deserved thanks than punishment. Sir, I am here a prisoner and a stranger and knows no body at Court so much as to represent and make known my so verie singular case. I have not the honour of the acquaintance of the Duke of Argyle or his brother the Earl of Isla, neither of Montrose nor Roxburgh, nor any at all of the English peers, yea or Commons that are capable to do me service—which obliges me to give you this trouble, intreating the favour you will be so kynde and charitable as wryte in my favour to any of them that are of Your most intymate acquaintance and to any other of your comerads at London that you think can be usefull. My caise is nottar through the whole kingdom and veriefied by all the public prints. Without my friends assistance I may have the misfortune off a tryal and upon my being proven to be att Preston I may have the sentence of banishment yea off death itself ammongst the crowd of those whose guilt deserves it without the least distintion ; for if my caise was not conspicuously ffavourable beyond that off any other prisoner I would not presume to have the confidence to put you to this trouble or desire your intercession for me, which I now implore and beg it may be done as soon as possible being affraid it cannot admitt off delay. I heartily beg pardon for this

JOHN FARQUHARSON

Importunity (which nothing but necessity would occasion)  
and doe it with utmost humility and am dear sir

Your most aff Cusin & obed. hum. servant,

JO. FFARQUHARSON off Invercauld.

Your cusin ffancis ffarquharstone younger off White House hath the misfortune to be my fellow prisoner (taken out off my house wt. me) and desires your mention off him in yr recommendations."

*Covering letter from Colonel Francis Farquharson, of Sir James Wood's regiment in the Hague, to some member of the Government, probably Robert Pringle*

"SIR,

Tho you may have safely forgot the small acquaintance I have had the honour to have with you, yet knowing your character as well as the post you are immediately in, I cannot forbear to send you the enclosed coppies off a letter I had from ffarquharson of Invercauld from his prison in London, which also concerns another relation of myne named in the end of it. I sent last post the principal to the Duke of Argyll. . . . It seems his caise has only to be right represented to his Majesty or his Judges. I am assured if you find his cause is just, you'll do him all the favour you can. Can not Mr. Secretary Stanhope and any other you think may be of use to a country man and a stranger and will alsoe mynd that they are near relations off Sir,

Yr. most obed. hum. serv.

FRAN. FARQN."

On April 13th John Farquharson also presented a petition to King George begging that his trial might be postponed. This was granted, and a further petition set forth that he was taken to Perth in custody, and that, "so far from contributing to the rebellion, he was instrumental in very much restraining

and in some measures defeating the treasonable designs and operations of the late Earl of Mar—(now attainted) and therefore humbly prays that he may be granted a *nolle prosequi*." After an imprisonment of nine months he was, on August 16th, "granted a most gracious pardon and was yesterday discharged and set at Liberty out of the Marshalsea Prison." (*Morning Post*, Thursday, August 23, 1716.)

A week later he was presented to the Prince of Wales at Hampton Court, "and had the honour to kiss his Highness hands."

On his return home John Farquharson engaged in the shipping and fishery trade of Aberdeen, and became a burgess of Inverness in 1720. At the time of the Rising of 1745 his sympathies were openly Hanoverian, but being an old man he took no part against the Jacobites beyond depriving his young cousin of Monaltrie, who had been factor for Invercauld, of his post. He died in 1750.

## IX

### WILLIAM DUFF

(of Braco, always hitherto held to have been a Hanoverian)

THE only son of Alexander Duff of Braco and Margaret Gordon of Lesmoir, was born about 1686 (as he was not of age at his father's death in 1705). He married, in 1706, Helen Taylor, a woman of humble birth, older than himself, who long outlived him, dying in 1780 when over a hundred. He committed suicide at his Castle of Balvenie in 1718, leaving an only daughter, afterwards Mrs. Udney Duff of Eden; his large estates in Banffshire and Aberdeenshire went to his uncle, William Duff of Dipple, father of the 1st Lord Fife.

Braco was not an avowed Jacobite, and must not be confused with James Gordon of Braco in Perthshire, to whom Mar paid secret service money in the early part of 1716. "Braco, for information, £30, and again £50."<sup>1</sup>

The Duff family as a whole was on the Government side, and William Duff of Braco would also appear to have been so at first, his Castle of Balvenie being looked upon as a stronghold for that party, *vide* the "Memorial sent by Sir Adam Cockburn to the Government, 1715." (*S.P.* 54, 7, 41.) "Proposals for securing the peace and preventing the Insults and Insurrections of the Highlands and Jacobites and maintaining a Pass at the Castle of Balvenie. This Castle lyes upon the confines of the Shires of Banff Aberdeen and Murray and

<sup>1</sup> "Accounts of Moneys laid out besides that for paying the Army."—*Stuart Papers.*  
(4,250)



of the Highland countries in their shires, it's a considerable strength lying directly between the Earle of Huntlys High and Low country estates. If it fall into the hands of the Highlanders or of any persons disaffected to the Government, it may be very uneasie to the Low country and be a place of Garrison to them for keeping Magasines of Provisions etc. for their communication with the low country Jacobites.

"William Duff of Braco, who is well affected to the Government is Heritor and dwells in it and has lately made it very strong for his own security. If he gets the assurance of the Government he is willing to maintain that post upon his own charges, and if he gets a commission or warrant with two or three hundred stand of arms and some ammunition from the Government (seeing he cannot get them to purchase for money), he will put a garrison and guard about that pass of 4 or 500 men and with the assistance of Brigadier Grant's men and Colonel Grant's company and other well-affected persones in that country, they may not only prevent the High and Low country Jacobites from Joyning the Earle of Huntly's men, but likewise keep a balance and secure the whole country in three shires of Murray, Banff and Aberdeen.

"Braco frankly offers his assistance and if he had armes can furnish a considerable body of men."

There is a letter from William Duff to his brother-in-law, Alexander Abercromby of Tilliebody, in which he speaks of "garrisoning Balvenie on behalf of the Government and as a good subject of King George."

"Balvenie, Nov. 11, 1715.

"SIR,

Since it was you who first infused the principles of Loyalty in me for the protestant succession, according to my promise to the Lord Justice Clerk and you, I shall maintain this Castle against the Rebels, and not quitt it, but with my life. I have kept a 100 men in pay for six weeks past to guard

it to prevent a surprise and I send you here enclosed a copy of the Bond to which I have signed and registered, as also published in all the Protestant churches where I have any concern from the head of Glenrinnnes to the sea, and doubt not but thorough God's blessing we shall act the pt. of honest men and good subjects for King George. I wish those that serve faithfully had some encouragement from the Government, since I neither desire nor expect anything for myself. I am your aff<sup>te</sup> brother and humble ser<sup>t</sup>

WM. DUFF."

(*Family Papers.*)

"The Bond of Wm. Duff of Braco to his loyal vassals and tenants" (which he encloses) promises "to make good to them all depredations and thefts which any man shall suffer that is called in defence of this house. Every vassall and sub-tenant similarly employed to be discharged of his year's rent, and every servant to have a year's wages, and if killed, the widows to possess their respective leases gratis during their lives, and in the case of servants two years wages."

Attached to this is "an account of the losses sustained by the Laird of Braco's tenants in Keith parish, by the passing and repassing of the King's Troops from Feb. to Oct. 1716," which show that both Dutch and Swiss troops were quartered there. (*Ibid.*)

The accounts, which are small, are not receipted.

And among the State Papers there is a Memorial from his uncle and successor, William Duff of Dipple, to Sir Robert Walpole, Chancellor of the Exchequer "praying to be discharged of about £200 for non-entry dues for which his predecessor was indebted to the Crown. Said predecessor having during the Rebellion 1715 garrisoned the Castle of Balvenie and defended it against the rebels until it was delivered into the hands of Colonel William Grant's lieutenant."

The Jacobite party, however, seem to have cherished hopes

of securing Braco's adhesion, for in the cess roll of the county of Aberdeen, which still exists in the handwriting of John Forbes, the collector of cess (published by the Third Spalding Club of Aberdeen in 1932), William Duff, who appears in the parish of Glass, is assessed at the *single* rate, which shows him to have been a Jacobite, since all Government adherents were forced by Mar's orders to pay double—that is, twelve months' cess instead of six.

More tangible proofs of his sympathy were, however, apparently required, and there is among the State Papers a letter from Mar to one of his trusted lieutenants, George Gordon of Carnousie, dated from the camp at Perth, 28th October 1715, ordering Gordon to demand from "the Lady Braco" the sum of £500 as William Duff's contribution to the Jacobite funds! "She refusing to pay it, you are to require it from Dipple, William's uncle and heir, and in case he also refuses you are hereby ordered to uplift that sum out of the first and readiest effects of Braco's tenants. . . . Upon payment you are to deliver the passport to Braco and the protection to his lady and tenants." (S.P. 54, 12, 343.)

(The passport is also among the State Papers, which, perhaps, argues that it was never delivered to William Duff, as there is no record of his having been arrested and such a thing taken from him.)

#### "Camp at Perth, 28th October 1715.

"John, Earl of Mar, Commander in chief of His Majesty's forces in Scotland.

Permit William Duff of Braco to ship on board any ship or vessell bound for any port of France, Holland or Flanders from any seaport town in Scotland, and that free of any troubling, stop or Impediment and this to endure for three months after date.

To all Magistrates of Seaport towns and Masters of Ships in Scotland." (S.P. 54, 12, 347.)

And a letter of the same date :

“To all commanders and parties of his Majesty’s Forces in Scotland, John Earl of Mar. Whereas we have thought fitt to give our protection to William Duff of Braco, his lady and tenants, these are therefore discharging you to doe any manner of hurt to the persons of the said William Duff his lady and family or to the servants, houses, tennents or estates pertaining to the said William Duff, as you shall be answerable at your highest peril.” (*S.P.* 54, 12, 348.)

These documents also were possibly never delivered to the intended recipients, though Braco certainly went abroad in the year 1716, first to Holland and then to Hungary. He appears to have left Balvenie secretly, for a letter of the period “From a gentleman in Murray to his correspondent in Edinburgh 1716” states that “upon Braco’s leaving his house (after a meeting with Earl of Huntly) it was within a hairsbreadth of falling into the Earl of Huntly’s hands, whose order to send the arms and ammunition therein under a Guard of 100 men to Gordon Castle was already lodged in hands capable effectually to execute it, but was prevented by Colonel Grant’s diligence.”

Another proof of Braco’s Jacobite sympathies was his offer, recorded by George Keith, a well-known advocate of Aberdeen, to pay £10,000 for the reversal of the attainder of his friend, the Earl Marischal, if this could be done, and after Braco’s death a paper was found in the hand of his “doer” ordering £500 to be paid to Mr. Keith to be remitted to the Earl Marischal, then a penniless refugee in France.

After Braco himself had gone abroad, Lord Huntly, from his prison in Edinburgh Castle, appears, from other family letters, to have borrowed money from Helen Taylor, Lady Braco. (See page 213.)



## X

### JAMES, EARL OF PANMURE

JAMES MAULE, 4th Earl of Panmure, was second son of George, 2nd Earl, and his wife Lady Jean Campbell, daughter of John, Earl of Loudoun, and succeeded his elder brother George, the 3rd Earl, in 1686, being before this date known as James Maule of Ballumbie. He travelled extensively in his youth, and served as a volunteer at the siege of Luxembourg (by the French) in 1684. He was by conviction and inheritance one of the staunchest supporters of the Stuart dynasty, and remained faithful to James II., though himself a Protestant. He refused to take the oaths to William and Mary, and was one of those who signed the letter of May 7, 1707, to Louis XIV. intimating the readiness of Scotland to rise in favour of young James Stuart (the other three peers being Errol, Stormont, and Kin-naird). Panmure had previously entertained Nathaniel Hooke at Brechin, and had sent, by him, a personal letter to "the King of England." Besides his elder brother George, he had a younger brother, Harry Maule (*q.v.*), and one sister, Mary, who married Charles, Earl of Mar, and was mother of the Jacobite Earl and Duke of Mar.

It was expected by both friend and foe that Panmure would be on the side of the Jacobites whenever the long foreseen Rising should occur, but not, perhaps, that he would take a very active part. At least the Lord Justice Clerk, writing from Edinburgh on August 25, 1715, to Lord Townshend, says, "It is most surprising that the *Earl of Panmure*, who always lived quietly ('tis sure he never took any of the oaths and was never

taken up) went from this yesterday to Braemar, leaving his lady here. I doe own this looks as if they consider the game their own." (*S.P.* 54, 7, 73.) 27th August. It is announced by a spy that "The Earl of Panmure landed on the 24th inst. in a small fisher creek nr. his own house of Panmure from an open boat from the ffrith, which is known to be contrary to his ordinary way of travelling." (*S.P.* 54, 7, 85.) He does not, however, seem to have gone to Braemar for the meeting of August 27th, but "stayed two nights at Strathdon, and returned to his own house of Elrick." (*S.P.* 54, 8, 7.) Later, feeling that Mar "was too long of proclaiming the king at Brechin," his own town, he went from Panmure and did this, and shortly afterwards came into Perth with a hundred Highlanders and a hundred Low country men, others following later.

An anonymous spy, who numbered the men coming into Perth, 1st October 1715, says, "Panmure's men came 7 in a rank and 29 ranks." He was also one of those who generously gave money to pay men other than his own, the Master of Sinclair recording that Southesk and Panmure each contributed £500. In *Patten's History* he is credited with having brought in 500 men.

The rental of Lord Panmure's estate was given in the official account of Forfeited Estates as £3,445, 11s. 3d. sterling, the largest of any among those forfeited in Scotland, though those of Lord Southesk and of Lord Wintoun approach this sum. Of the latter's total of £3,271, 10s., only £266, 7s. 9d. was rent paid in money, the rest being made up of the price of barley (over £1,000), wheat, and oats, while another £1,000 came from salt pans and coal pits.

The estate of the Earl of Mar was only worth £1,884, 9s. 2d. sterling.

At the battle of Sheriffmuir, Lord Panmure commanded a battalion of foot on the right wing. He was severely wounded in the head and body, and taken prisoner, but rescued by his

brother, Harry Maule. An anonymous informer writes : "Panmure is taken. I saw him in the field so ill of his wounds that its probable he is dead by this time." And the Lord Justice Clerk writes (*S.P.* 54, 10, 60) : "The Earl of Panmure was said to be so ill wounded we could not carry him off, and yet the Rebels carryed him away that night of battle."

In a picturesque account by Mr. James Maule, son of the Rev. Patrick Maule of Panbride, who died in 1753 (he was also the writer of the *Journal*, page 268), is the following :

"In the day of the battle of Dumblain, Mr. Harie Maule was not in the Angus Regiment of horse, but charged with several other Gentlemen as volunteers upon the right of the Clans, where the enemy fled after the first fire, and both he and all his servants came off untuched. He being in no regiment neither he nor any of his servants do any deuty. Immediately after the battle, it being reported in the army that the Earl of Panmure was wounded and taken and lying at a cot house, Mr. Harie instantly with only his servants, Jo. Robertson, Ja. Fraser and Ja. Malcom and Dr. Blair rod off and having come to the place, after enquiring at several cot houses, at length found him—the six dragoons who guarded him having fled upon the noise of Mr. Harie's approach, taking his small party for a great body coming up, by the noise that their horse feet made upon the hard and chingly road. When Mr. Harie came in he found him lying in a very sorry bed, near a fire with the green apron about his head and 2 highland plaids about his body. Mr. Ha. asked him how he was, and desired him to go along with him, but he refused saying that he was not able and that he would faint if he either walked or rod. Mr. Ha. urged him by telling him that if they stayed any time they would all be taken prisoners, but he would not consent. Upon which Mr. Harie desired the Doctor to persuad him ; who got him to consent by telling him his wounds would not be the worse. Upon which he consented, and Mr. Harie's valet, Jo. Robertson, drew on a pair of boots upon his legs, and



*By kind permission of the Countess of Dalhousie.*

THE GATES OF PANMURE HOUSE  
which have never been opened since 1715.





in the same dress they found him in, set him upon a horse, Ja. Fraser leading it, John Robertson walking upon his one side and Malcolm on the other. By the way he took a hearty draw out of a flask that Robertson had at his side, and so carried him to Ardoch. Its believed if they had stayed a little longer they had all been taken, for its reported that not long after a party of 80 horse came to carry him to Stirling or Dumblain.

“After they got Panmure on a horse they had to march 3 miles in the dark almost, only stepping and Mr. H. riding before, leading the way and 2 of his servants walking on foot supporting Panmure on horseback and walking up to midleg in snow and ice. At last they fell in with the McDonalds under the command of Ja. McDonald of Slate who was Mr. H’s acquaintance and his first lady’s near relation.” (Private MS. Unpublished.)

After this, Panmure, by proxy, entertained King James at Brechin Castle on 2nd January 1716, and James also wrote to him from

“Scoon, 22nd January 1716.

“I received this day yours of the 19, by Mr. Blair,<sup>1</sup> who delivered your commissions to me, and am truly sensible of the zeal you shew me therein. I hope you will always continue to give me your advice and oppinion, which on all other occasions I shall take as kindly as I do now. I believe our Catholicks had no thoughts of doing anything extraordinary next Thursday,<sup>2</sup> but my own modesty in those matters must and shall be their rule, as it ought to be a sufficient proof to all reasonable people, of the emptiness of those apprehensions they may have been prepossessed with in relation to religion. It is over the hearts of my subjects, and not their consciences, that I am desireous to reign ; and if my moderation, and all

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Patrick Blair, who went abroad with him.

<sup>2</sup> Date fixed for General Thanksgiving (26th January) which was *not* held.

the assurances they have receaved on that head, doe not meet with suitable returns, it may be my misfortune, but can never be my fault. They may be now, if they please, a free and happie people : and I am in great hopes they will at length open their eyes, and put themselves an end to all their misfortunes. The enemy make all preparations for marching, and we are preparing to receive them, but how the weather will allow of any motion on either side I do not well understand. However, in that particular we are on equall termes, tho' not in others ; but courage and zeal, I hope, will supply the want of numbers. I shall be sure to consider of the other points of your message. Pray remember me with all kindness to Lady Panmure, and be assured, both of you, of my particular esteem and kindness.

JAMES R."

(*Registrum de Panmure.*)

Lord Panmure escaped by sea from Arbroath on 2nd February 1716, and got safely to France, where he rejoined his master in Avignon, and was invested with the Order of the Thistle, 8th April 1716. Later he travelled extensively in France, and visited Maule, the ancient home of the family in that country.

An excellent account of his escape and travels is to be found in a MS. Journal written by James Maule, already quoted. (A transcript of which was kindly lent by W. H. Griffiths, Esq., Paymaster, Royal Navy.)

"The whole Army left Perth the 31st January and marched to Dundee that night, where the Earle of Panmure lay under cure of wounds he had received at Sheriffmure. The Duke of Mar, who, well judging that it was impossible for the handfull of men he had then with him to oppose the enemy in any shape, and having nothing so much at heart as the King's preservation, proposed that his Majestie with a few attendants should privately goe aboard of a small ship which lay at

Montrose and return to France. This the King at first positively refused to do, alledging it was unbecoming the character of a Prince to abandon his Loyall subjects who had risked both their lives and their fortunes in his service. But the Duke of Mar convincing him with solid arguments that they were now in noe condition to protect him and that were he once out of the Kingdome, the pursuit of the enemy would slacken and consequently afford his friends an easier opportunity of shifting for themselves, whereas should he continue with them it was more than probable that the enemy would use their utmost efforts both to seize his person and destroy his followers. To this hard necessity, the King with a great deal of reluctance yielded, provided the Duke would accompany him in the voyage, which he declined, alledging he ought to share in the common fate with his countrymen. But the King telling him that the same reasons which had prevailed with himself held good as to his Grace, he submitted. This resolution being taken without the privatie of any single person in the Army, the Duke came that night (January 31) to acquaint the Earl of Panmure of it, when he told him he would be welcome to take his passage with the King, but as his present indisposition required both a Physician and other attendants to wait of him (none of which could be admitted into the King's ship) so he advised that if any other convenient opportunity offered at Dundee, Arbroath or elsewhere he ought to accept of it. So the Earle not finding any ship fit for his purpose at Dundee, sett out next morning with the army, being carried in a horse litter and came to Arbroath that night, where I found a very small barque belonging to one John Carmichael, with whom I agreed for fiftie pounds to transport us to Calais. Next morning being the 2nd of Febr. 1716, the army marched forward to Montrose, but the Earle, pretending that his indisposition could not allow him in that rigourous season to keep up with the army, we stayed there till near eight o'clock at night, when having provided a sufficient quantity of sea-stores for our



voyage and hearing by our scouts that some of the enemy were within two miles of the town, we judged it full time to go aboard of our vessell which lay a little way off from the shoar ready to receive us. So soon as the Earle, Dr. Blair with other two and myself, had got on board, Carmichael put to sea and though there were at that time two English men of war lying to guard that coast, yet by the favour of a brisk gale and a very dark night we had the good fortune to pass without being observed by either of them. Next morning we had got the length of Shiells (Shields) and the gale still continuing to blow as fresh as our vessell could well bear sail with, we came the fifth day of our passage by ten o'clock in the morning within three leagues of Calais, when Carmichael espyed an English man of war lying before that harbour in order to search and examine all the ships that either went out or came in. This put us in noe small fright, nor could we for some time determine what course to take, till falling in with some Dunkirk and Calais fish boats which were much about the same burden with our barque, we furled our sails and lay by, pretending to fish with the rest. We continued in this uneasie situation till towards night when (happily for us) a thick fog coming on, we in company with some of the fish boats passed the man of war unobserved and so got safely into Calais harbour.

“Upon our landing we were immediately carried before the Governor who after a very superficial examination gave us liberty to pursue our journey. We stayed here two nights and having provided a post chaise for the Earle set out post for Paris the 9th ffeby O S. . . .

“Two days after we got to Paris the King with the Duke of Mar (who had landed at Dunkirk and taken post from that) arrived safe at St. Germain. We stayed at Paris about 6 weeks, where the Earle recovering pretty well of his wounds and the King having pitched on Avignon for the place of his residence, we set out post for that town the 26 of March 1716 ; the King

with the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar and some others having set out some days before us.

“ We paid all the road from Paris to Lyons 30 sols per post for each horse—and 4 sols to the Post-boy, but if one intends to make an expeditious journey and be well served in horses, he must double the Post-boy’s gratuity. . . .

“ The King with the Duke of Mar passed this place (Lyons) on their way to Avignon some days before we arrived, but here we overtook the Duke of Ormonde who, being somewhat fatigued with the posting, designed to go to Avignon by water. The Earl of Panmure, who was likewise pretty much out of order with travelling a hundred leagues in three days, readily agreed to go with him. Accordingly we hired two boats for eighty livres each to transport us and the post-chaises down the Rhone from Lyons to Avignon, which is about fiftie leagues. The 31st of March we sett out in our boats for Lyons and tho’ the Rhone is a very great river, yet it runs with such rapidity that these clumsy boats make their passage in three days without the help of any sails except a small piece of plaiding cloath which sometimes they made use of by way of a sail when the wind offered fair. Most of the banks of the river are very hilly with bare high rocks which make but a very ordinary appearance and yet the best wines in France such as l’Hermitage and Cotes roties grow here. We stopped at both these places where we drunk excellent good wine for almost nothing and on the 2nd of April O.S. arrived safe at Avignon.”

Lord Panmure wrote from Paris to Mar, 26th December 1718, that he was “ Mighty sorry for the King’s disappointment about the Princess (Clementina) but hoped he would quickly be married to her or another as is wished by all his good subjects and friends, and it is pretty apparent how much his enemies are afraid of it.”

The Countess of Panmure came to him in France in 1719, but returned to London to endeavour to get some

allowance out of the forfeited estates, in which she was successful.

On 9th March 1722 Lord Panmure addressed a letter of respectful good advice to King James.

He never returned to Scotland, but died in Paris, 11th April 1723. His wife was Margaret, youngest daughter of William, Duke of Hamilton. "She hath born to him no children to the full time as yet, but hath had many abortions." (*Macfarlane's Genealogical Collection.*)

The gates of Panmure House were closed after Sheriffmuir, and have never since been opened. The accompanying photograph, as well as the portrait of Harry Maule, has been kindly supplied by the Hon. Mrs. Maule Ramsay of Kellie.

## XI

### HARRY MAULE (of Kellie)

THIRD son of the 2nd Lord Panmure and Lady Jean Campbell of Loudoun, and younger brother of James, 4th Lord Panmure, Harry was born about 1670.

Before the Rising of 1715 he was a Government official, being Deputy Lyon-King-at-Arms, and as such it fell to him to proclaim King George in Edinburgh on Thursday, 5th of August 1714, with all the pomp of heralds and pursuivants, city officers and town council. He does not appear to have taken part in any of the early Jacobite plans of 1707, as he is mentioned neither by Hooke nor Ker of Kersland, but on August 16, 1715, Sir Robert Pollock, Governor of Fort William, writes : " Mr. Harie Maul and another of that name are the great Managers betwixt the Pretender and the Clans." (*S.P.* 54, 7, 23.)

On September 15, 1715, " Mr. Harry Maule was called to the cross of Edinburgh. He was one of those summoned to give themselves up, and he not appearing, sentence of outlawry was passed against him in terms of the Act of Parliament." (*S.P.* 54, 8, 63, and 85.)

Maule, who seems to have been a peaceable person, and " had determined not to joyn," was actually on his way to deliver himself up, " being twenty miles on his road southward," according to the Master of Sinclair, when a messenger from his nephew, the Earl of Mar (whose mother was Maule's sister) " met him and assured him that the Government had



intercepted letters to him from beyond sea, which if he delivered himself up at such a time could not miss but cost him his life." Persuaded of the truth of this statement, he naturally threw in his lot with the Rising, and Sinclair further says that Mar adroitly turned his joining to account, in persuading others that Maule had become an adherent on account of "fresh news from beyond sea."

Maule was all along very clear-sighted as to the defective manner in which the Rising was managed, and the want of provision of arms, powder, and money made by Mar. "He said very ingenously, that never men were so idly brought in for their lives and fortunes as we were." (Sinclair.)

After the battle of Sheriffmuir he effectively rescued his wounded brother, Lord Panmure (see page 266), for which he got great credit with Mar, who, however, had not concerned himself much about the loss of his uncle. Harry Maule was involved in the discussions as to Mar's association, which followed Sheriffmuir—*not* on the side of his nephew. He would have been in favour of negotiations with Argyll to avoid further bloodshed. He retreated with the King and the army through Arbroath to Montrose, but did not escape to France with his brother.

According to a letter of Dr. Patrick Abercromby to Mar in April 1716 from St. Germain, he "lurked long in the Braes of Angus," and on 10th June in the same year Mar notes that he is "safe in France."<sup>1</sup>

Later, he resided in Holland, where he made large collections of documents concerning the history of Scotland, and also compiled the *Registrum de Panmure*. He died in 1734, having retained his Jacobite convictions to the end of his life.

He was twice married—(1) in 1695, to Lady Mary Fleming, daughter of the Earl of Wigton, who died in 1702, leaving three sons and two daughters; and (2) in 1704, to Anne Lindsay of Kilburnie, who had five sons, but none left issue.

<sup>1</sup> *Stuart Papers*.



*By kind permission of the Hon. Mr. Maule Ramsay.*

HARRY MAULE OF KELLIE.

TEMPLE BAR: 1766.

On either side of the dark old gate  
Where English Kings stand in Roman state  
The signboards groan when it's windy weather,  
One by one and then all together:  
"Come, buy a book", says one groaning sign,  
"Come", say others, "A glass of wine",  
"Come, let your wig be freshly curled",  
"Come, see the wonders of half the world",  
And there, what times there is light to see  
What the things on the top of the tall spikes be,  
The spy-glass man will steal up and say,  
"A peep at the rebels' heads to-day?"  
Good trade will he with the spy-glass do  
Where Whigs are many and rebels few:  
Deep-dyed Whiggish from sole to crown  
Is sober, prosperous London-town:  
And they who are foolish enough to mourn  
For an old cause lost and a dream dead-born  
Are scattered and hidden and hartoured far  
From London Town and from Temple Bar,  
And from watchful neighbours whose views are such  
That a penny-piece they think not too much  
For a glimpse of those hollow masks on high  
That shake as the tide of carts rolls by.  
Yet when one Sam Johnson plops through the arch  
With a long-drawn sigh he will check his march,  
And, peering up with a puckered face,  
Mumble what may be a prayer for grace.  
That thoughts the sight of those heads may stir,  
What mute regrets for the things that were,  
Even from Boswell he half-conceals,  
Even to Goldsmith but half-reveals.  
His foes, he would say, are King George's foes:  
But Bozzy guesses and Goldy knows  
That under that waistcoat dun and dim  
There beats a Jacobite heart in him.

D.M.S.

-----  
The New Rambler, January, 17



HARRY MAULE

The title being attained, did not pass to him on his brother's death, nor direct to his eldest son, but was, in 1743, revived as an Irish peerage for his *second* son, William, who died without issue, and the representation of the family passed to Harry's daughter, Jean, who had married George, Lord Ramsay, father of the 7th and 8th Lords Dalhousie, in which title that of Panmure and the family of Maule are now merged.



Glen Finnan, where the Standard  
275 was raised. 19 by Prince Charles  
See previous book by the  
Taylors



## XII

### LORD PITSLIGO

OF Alexander, 4th and last Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, it is difficult to give a succinct history. He shares with John Gordon of Glenbucket the double distinction of having been equally prominent and valuable to the cause in the Rising of 1715 and that of 1745. Most of the others who took part in both were mere boys in 1715. The Marquis of Tullibardine, who was a grown man in 1715, was by 1745 (though considerably younger than the two above mentioned) too feeble in body to be very important,<sup>1</sup> and Lord Lovat, who took some part in both Risings, had changed sides, being Hanoverian in 1715, and eventually, after some tergiversation, Jacobite in 1745. In 1745 Gordon of Auchintoul was seventy-six, and only assisted with his advice.

Alexander Forbes, Lord Pitsligo, was born 24th May 1678, the only son of Alexander, the 3rd Lord, and Sophia Erskine, aunt to the Earl of Mar, who raised the Standard. He succeeded when only twelve years old, but the estate was very much embarrassed,<sup>2</sup> and his relatives sent him to be educated in France, where he became the friend of Fénélon and of Madame Guyon, and imbibed the principles of mysticism. He only returned when of age to take his seat in the Scottish Parliament. In 1705 he protested against the Union, and after that measure was agreed to, never again attended the sittings.

He joined the Earl of Mar in Perth in October 1715 with a

<sup>1</sup> An onlooker at Glenfinnan describing him as "tottering with age."

<sup>2</sup> In 1720, in Paris, he speaks of "the debts which have hung around me ever since I entered the world."

small troop, and was present at Sheriffmuir, but was not specially distinguished in any way, as he had not at that time very much weight in the county, nor a very large following. He escaped abroad, and according to his MS. account of the years 1719-20 (now at Fettercairn and not previously printed) was for some time in Holland. The account begins :

“ I had the confusion to see our army disperse in the beginning of the year 1716 and to sculk myself with many others in the country where tis true we had occasion to discover the humanity of the poor country people, but being weary of that way of life and still in danger, chose to go abroad and I was some moneths privately in London. From there I went to Holland and Flanders.”

Many of Lord Pitsligo's letters exist in manuscript, and as they throw an interesting light on the doings of other fugitive Jacobites, several are here given. At Crathes Castle are letters from him to George Cumine of Pitullie. The following is the first of the series, as Pitsligo went from Scotland to London in February 1716, *before* he went abroad.

“ London, July 16th, 1716.

“ DEAR FRIEND,

I have no talent in saying fond things, but tis certainly true I wish you well. I also think of you pretty often and presume you may be a little solitary. . . . My manner of living at present is not charming upon all sides, though sometimes I am well enough satisfied with it ; at other times like the rest of Adam's sons I'm finding fault with my circumstances for being much debarr'd from Company and in a place where it might be so easily had. . . . Pray tell me what course you intend to take. . . . I should be heartily sorry if you or any I wish well to should think of surrendering or if any who has the misfortune to come to a tryall should plead guilty. . . . I believe there are hearts warming every day towards their rightful Sovereign, but when we shall see the

man, the Lord knows. It is some pain to me just now to abstain from writeing treason, but my paper fails me."

"Aug. 20, 1716.

"I cannot say that my belief is very great, but I'm told the Jacobites are generally in the old humour of hoping. Tis true their confidence is not now so much in the strength of their own arm as it was about ten months ago . . . their hope is now founded upon the goodness of their cause . . ."

In the following year he wrote from Rotterdam, July 20, 1717, to Cumine :

"DEAR FRIEND,

After the last I had from you, I expected still to hear of your being on this side the water. . . ."

In the next letter, *undated*, he says : "I hope we shall yet live together in a certain corner of a country which I protest has an abundance of charms to me. Your staying at home has been very lucky for you. If you ever come abroad you'll be content to be at home again. . . . I do not despair of our meeting. They say at the worst three years makes everybody clear and the largest half of that is past. . . . Pray give my service to all your Curators. I imagine just now I see Mr. Ogilvy's rideing very gravely thorow the Country and his little wife behind him. . . . Some there are of opinion that a friend of yours<sup>1</sup> should take ship for his own country with the most conveniency but others think it would not be advisable. . . .

"All my plot in this world is to live in a corner with a few friends of whom I hope you shall be one.

"I still think in two or three weeks to go to Italy. I design to see the old walls of Rome. . . . I propose to stay but a

<sup>1</sup> Himself.

short while, in hopes my affairs may be in such a posture that I may venture to appear on the Exchange in London in the spring. . . . If you should be in Paris, enquire for Mr. Ramsay at the Hotel de Sasseraye or for le Marquis de Fénélon at the Hotel de Mortimar or for Mr. Gordon the Bankier."

A letter of his from Leyden to Mar, 26th October 1717, asks Mar's opinion as to the possibility of his now returning to Scotland. All those who had been overseas since the Rebellion were excepted from the indemnity, and he wonders whether it "were best to slip over privately, or apply for licence. This last I never had a stomach for and now 'tis positively talked, that his Majesty has declared his firm resolution to grant no more of these papers. . . . I believe I shall venture over to London in the dead of winter, and after some stay there, very privately, go as privately home. I'll now be supplied from that country with any little money I shall want. I give our Master ten thousand thanks for what I've had of his. I look upon it as a debt I ought to repay. . . ."

He did not, however, go home, as on December 6th he wrote again to George Cumine: "I was nearer a resolution as to my motions a while ago than I am just now, from an account that came the other day from Edinburgh shewing that the Advocate had got orders to prosecute those who had gone home without licence. . . . I wish everybodie the right side of their tryalls. . . ."

"I cannot express, dear Friend, how much I long to see you. I would gladly settle in your country. I know a little of hurry and a little of quietness and the more I think of it, I reckon the quiet life has the preference."

Of the following spring he writes in his journal: "When the exceptions to the Indemnity were known, some were of opinion that Parliament would make it better and that the banishment of them would only continue against such as are attainted, but this has proved a mistake. I then resolved to venture over to London but was put off by information that



the Duke of Gordon without any application to him, God knows, was to get a privy seal for ten or twelve persons whereof a friend of mine was one,<sup>1</sup> and this friend and I being pretty closely linked together I could not pursue my resolution till I saw what became of the Privy seal. At last I found that the Duke was obliged to restrict his list to young Drum and Mr. Bisset of Lissendrum. Cluny is indeed included, but would have got one by himself without the Duke's endeavours. . . . Though I found myself excluded from this particular grace as well as the Universal, I had still a great mind to be in Britain and was packing up when I heard of the Proclamation against all that returned to Scotland and had a letter from London dissuading me absolutely from that resolution. I then thought it best to have patience, at least to endeavour it !”

Other letters came from Rotterdam and Munich. After this he went to Vienna, and from the Austrian capital, 6th July 1718, he wrote to Cumine in a burst of home-sickness: “I declare to you upon honour, that I love your corner better than any place I have ever seen.”

The next extract is again from his own MS. :

“I had a letter from my Lord Mar while I was at Brussels to come and talk with him at Paris. There was an expectation that summer (1717) of something to be done by the King of Sweden in our affairs. I had no inclination, however, to go further from home except a step to Blois. I came back to Holland, found myself excluded from the Indemnity and likewise that an application made by the Duke of Gordon for a licence to come home was rejected. That application (by the way) was unknown to me, the Duke having made it at my Lord Forbes desire, but I owe thanks to them both.

“A desire awakened now and then of seeing the King, I resolved to go to some places in Germany and passed some

<sup>1</sup> He was perhaps alluding to Cumine of Pitullie, or in the manner of the time to himself !

months pretty easily at Vienna, from whence I went to Italy. Being at Venice in October 1718 I had a letter from my Lord Mar acquainting me that the King was come to Bologna in order to his meeting the Princess at Ferrara, and that most of the Lords and Gentlemen were left at Urbino but that I might drop in at Ferrara, as if by accident, which he believed would not be disagreeable to the King nor shocking to anybody that was left. I took post accordingly from Venice with much joy.

"From Venice in October 1718 I went to Ferrara, where the King was come to meet the Princess. We heard the bad news of the arrestment at Innspruck,<sup>1</sup> and I came that night to Bologna where I found the King in good health."

Pitsligo then went to Rome, where he remained by the King's orders when the latter went to Spain. Some months later he writes: "By this time Rome began to grow wearisome to most of us. We were for a great while without knowing anything about the King. We had accounts of my Lord Mar's being taken at Voghera,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Murray lookt upon himself as sole Governor and even the Inhabitants of the place were making their observations upon the choice of so young a Minister. . . .

"Reports came of the Duke of Ormonde's being landed in England, with a world of ensuing circumstances. Some were uneasy to be so far from their country when they heard it was in a new flame. A little time brought the certain account of Ormond's being detained in Spain by cross winds and at the same time of the landing of the Spaniards in Scotland."

He goes on to relate how Clementina was at last brought from Innspruck to Bologna in May 1719 by her four adventurous cavaliers, and after the preliminary marriage, at which James Murray stood proxy for the King, came on to Rome. A long account follows of the jealousies aroused in Rome by

<sup>1</sup> Of the Princess Clementina Sobieska and her mother.

<sup>2</sup> Mar and the Duke of Perth were arrested when travelling northwards. The latter was at first taken for James himself. They were imprisoned in Milan Castle, but eventually released.

the arrogance of Murray, who was the King's new favourite, and seems to have upset many of the older Jacobites, including Lord Nithsdale and Lord Pitsligo. The latter having written in all good faith to James in Spain, and again at Montefiascone, to acquaint him of what was going on, incurred his master's displeasure, and eventually returned to Paris in January 1720. While there he met Law, the financier, and found him most sympathetic to Jacobite schemes, but Law's own downfall was not long in coming. There was now no longer any difficulty in Lord Pitsligo (who had not been attainted<sup>1</sup>) returning home, and by the beginning of June he was in Aberdeenshire with his sister Mary, who had married John Forbes, younger of Monymusk.

Thereafter he lived quietly on his estates for a quarter of a century, and took part in county matters, being distinguished by his hospitality and kindness to all about him.

Very shortly after Prince Charles landed at Loch Nan-uamh, July 25, 1745, Lord Pitsligo heard of it, and although sixty-seven years old, felt himself obliged to join the Standard with a troop of horse, arriving in Edinburgh on October 9th. A contemporary, Hamilton of Bangour, writes: "It seemed as if Religion, Virtue and Justice were entering the Camp under the appearance of this venerable old man and what would have given sanction to a cause of the most dubious right, could not fail to render sacred the very best." Pitsligo accompanied the Jacobite army to Derby, and the Prince insisted on Pitsligo riding in the royal carriage, while he himself marched. When the army retreated to the north after Falkirk, Pitsligo was made Governor of Elgin, and was present at Culloden, from which he escaped and remained hidden in his own neighbourhood for the next four years.

During this time was composed "An Historical Address to Prince Charles by Lord Pitsligo, written in May in the year 1747," already quoted (page 20).

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* His name is not in the Act of 1 George I.

At this date Lord Pitsligo was an old man of nearly seventy, who had twice seen the ruin of the hopes of his party, and was living a hunted existence as full of hardships as that of Prince Charles himself. After 1750, when the search had somewhat slackened, he went to reside in the house of his son John at Auchiries, and in 1756 was very nearly made prisoner in the course of a surprise visit in the early morning by a party of soldiers. He was hastily concealed in a small recess behind the wainscot in the bedroom of a lady guest, and when the room was searched by the soldiers the latter had to simulate attacks of coughing to cover the sound of the loud asthmatic breathing of the poor old man in hiding. When the soldiers had gone from the room, and Lord Pitsligo was able to issue from his confinement, his one anxiety was that they, "who were only doing their duty and cannot bear me any ill-will, should be given some breakfast and a drink of warm ale, this cold morning." In a letter from the 17th Lord Forbes, of date 1761, Pitsligo is described as "slipping away—but very peacefully."

He died at Auchiries, 21st December 1762, aged eighty-four, leaving by his first wife, Rebecca Norton, daughter of a merchant of the city of London, one son, John, Master of Pitsligo, who died without issue, the title and estates having been forfeited.

The latter were bought by Sir William Forbes, the banker, the grandson of Lord Pitsligo's sister Mary, whose descendant, Lord Clinton, now holds them.



### XIII

#### THOMAS TULLOCH (of Tannachy : the only man acquitted)

OF Thomas Tulloch of Tannachy, in Morayshire, a number of interesting and unpublished letters written from and to him in prison in Carlisle have come under the notice of the present writers.

He was born in 1653, eldest son of Alexander and his first wife, Jean Grant, and grandson of Thomas Tulloch, the latter being the friend of Montrose.<sup>1</sup> The wife of Thomas was Mary Duff, eldest daughter of Alexander Duff of Keithmore.

Having been very active in the Rising, he decided after the collapse to surrender to Lord Lovat, was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and was one of those marched from thence, on the 4th September 1716, to Carlisle, his name being the first on the list of the twenty-seven who went on the second day, "from the three prisons in Edinburgh."

That Huntly, his overlord, tried to assist him is shown by the first of the following letters—the others give a vivid picture of life in the prison, and a curious list of clothes taken there with him, for himself and his servant.

Thomas Tulloch had the unique distinction of choosing to stand his trial at Carlisle, before an English jury, and *being*

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Tulloch, father of Thomas, the Jacobite, married twice. His first wife, Jean Grant, was the mother of Thomas, five other sons, and three daughters.

By his second wife, Margaret Simpson, Alexander Tulloch had seven sons and one daughter. One of these sons was David Tulloch, a Jacobite of 1745. He was nearly forty years younger than his half-brother, Thomas. Alexander Tulloch did not die until 1696. (*Captain Tulloch's Family Papers.*)

*acquitted.* He survived until 1729, dying at the age of seventy-seven.

In a letter written from his prison in Edinburgh Castle, of date 7th April 1716, to Lord Sutherland, Lord Huntly had said :

“ If your Lop is pleased to recommend al our business to the Duke of Malborow and whom else you think fitt it will bee of very good effect, and wee beg your Lop will not be wanting to help yr friends and cuntraymen now in distress since what mercy is shown us wil I am confident bee of no disadvantage to his My. and Government but ty all our harts by Love and gratitude to him and all the Royall family. Lord Rollo, Sir Thomas Calder, Tanachy and my other friends who submitted to yr Lop or any of yr Lop’s deputs expect the honour of yr particular remembrance. Wee will all acknowledge yr Lop’s favors to us to the last and wheil wee live they as I shall show yr Lop wee are men of honour and gratitude, myself in particular.

Yr Lop’s most obligd and humble servant,  
and most affecte. Cusing

HUNTLY.”

*Letter from his Wife to the Laird of Tannachy at Edinburgh  
(after his capture and before he was sent to Carlisle)*

“ Elgin. August 30th, 1716.

“ MY DEAREST,

I had yours of the deatt the 22 day which gave me some kind of satisfaction after the sorrowful accounts that ye was carried to England. Which no doubt will be a surpriss on you, if ye knewe nothing of at writing myne from you, as I shall deliver yours to William King and Grange. Your daughter is hosting<sup>1</sup> hard, and will not live long, O Lord

<sup>1</sup> Coughing.

ffitt us for death and keep from sudantt and unproyded death. Ye may easily bellive if ye be gone for england I will be in such keass as I shall not menshon nor trubell with falling on any thing of Business, the ffate of your selfe being my chiff kare att present, as I trust in the Lord who hath brought your therow trouble will deliver you in the samen. Tack heartt and lat me have troue accounts of what is enjoyned and spier nothing for your own safftie, I wrote Mr. Innes the other day. This Lyne is writt in the greatess confushion I ever was in, soo Adow for I am

Your own

MARY DUFF."

*Thomas Tulloch of Tannachy to his Wife (from prison in Carlisle)*

"Sept. 27, 1716.

"There is four guinea alreadie gone since I came here. We have been at mightie chearge since here for when we entered, all the house was shoute oupe with eiron bars and timber, save two or three holes in each room that a cat could onlie passe at and all the chinnies shout close up. So the glassing, throwing down the chinnies and building up grates has stoud a great deal of monie and each chapine bottle of ealle stands a groat, besydes what is given out for agents and doers, and each chapine bottle of wine stands twantie-two shillings, and each two of us have caused build beds to themselves which will stand upward of thretie shillings to each two. We have the blankets and linings by favour from the friend that lives sixteen myles from this place, who has furnished four beds with everiething save the timber work, whereof Glenbucket and I have one. It stand me half a crown each week for Alexander Innes meate and bed and a crown for myself besydes extraor-dinaries which is not small—this is besydes washing. For all here change lining everie day and the washing each shirt is twopence so the Sute is fivepence, besides the hire of two

women for dressing the rounes and this besides the charge of furnishing coals and peates. I mention this because ye may think strange how much monie is thrown away, but I have a thought to keep Lent beforehand and nather eat flesh or fish as long as I am here. There are some other gentlemen here that live on charitie at the expense of the other prisoners, which I cannot comply with of choyse. If I were at libertie just now I cannot think of cuming home without payment of thirteen guineas that is advanced to me and Robert<sup>1</sup> to carrie him north. Besydes I must have a black sute, become of me what please, since poor Annie her death hath occurred. There must be twentie guineas gotten and sent oupe hear, leat there be what shift meade for it that may be, if it were the disposall or pleadging the most valouble things a bodie may have. I am told that, all the nation over, there are contributions making for the use of the prisoners, in this werie necessitous junctour, when the intear rouin of the nation is so much threatened, both as to the interests and the lives of the flour and cream of the nation.

Ye have a list of the persons that is in the room with me (*unfortunately the list is not there*). It is not amisse that ye be at the trouble to goe the length of Elgine to propose this to these persones the enclosed letters are directed to, and others they and you may think proper—But not anie thing to be axed but what each inclines of free choyse. Ye must not expose this my letter, for there has not anie thing been done this way that proceeds from a prisoner but merely of good will and free choyse of the givers, so I hope what I have wreaten in this or former my letters is in good hands. Eafter writing of this I have a letter from my Lord Huntly to my bedde fellow. (Glenbucket.)

Note of Cloaths and oyr. necessities taken along wt. Tannachy, Oct. 1st, 1716.

Imp. Seven nightshirts, Seven holland shirts, Seven Cravats,

<sup>1</sup> His son.



two pairs of Stokens, a pair of Slips and a pair of tartan hoses wt. worsted to mend his Stokens, Six Table napkins Dornich. A Silk hand kerchief and a Linnen hand kerchief and two glasses and a flask wt. tonick waters. Two Suites of Cloaths and a Big Coat, a pair of Leathern breches, two wigs and two hats, and a flask wt. oil. Two pairs of plaids for Tannachie's own bed, a Riach pair and a pair white and a pair sheets, a quilted Bed and Bolster, and a Cod and codware, two chopin Bottles wt. Brandie, a Rugg'd coat Line wt. white and an English night cape, a cloath cloak and a riach plaid for Alexr. Innes. Three truncks and three new pockes, one gros wt. meal and the other two wt. the tent bed and two pairs of Shoes for Tannachy and a pair new Boots."

*Thomas Tulloch to his Wife*

"Carlyll Castell,  
Oct. the 25, 1716.

"MY DEAREST,

I have written so often witht. anie return that I think ye judge I write too often, but since there is ane express come from this from the prison and to the friends at Edinr. to advertise and inform that Mr. Paxton the Solicatours gave in full Copies to night of all of the prisoners in the list of the inclosed, which is ane double of what I gave.

We had occasion to know that all things are in readiness for a tryall, and it was reported to some of the prisoners yesterday, that our Judges were to sett out Monday next from London, which will be the 29 instant, but there is no notishes accounted in to *some* of the prisoners either from Edinr. or London, when or what day they are to come off.

And this express is sent to Edinr. to see there if they understand anie things more of it.

To the Ladie Tannachie and in her absence to my son Robert These . . ."

*Lord Huntly's letter, after his own liberation from prison*

"HONEST FRIEND TANACHY,

By this honest and friendly bearer I giv you account of my Liberty and diligence to serve you and all my friends which I desire you will inform them off. I hope this shall find the good affects to you in particular. Lovat is much yr. friend and I hope his declaration will bee of use to you. I go very soon north, but if I can serve you or any of friends on my return I shall make a very short stay. As I writ formerly my Indevors shall proov, I intend neither to spare pains nor purs and you shall find mee as you have been my friend still you shall command and I reddily show my selfe yr. most Affect. faithfull friend to serv you

HUNTLY.

Pray give my kind service to all my friends at Carlile.

Edgh. 6th Nov. 1716."

Endorse "For the Laird of Tannachy, Tulloch, in Carlile Castell."

*Thomas Tulloch of Tannachy to his Wife, from prison in Carlisle*

Undated, but in November 1716.

"We parted from Edinburgh the first day of September, being Wednesday, and cam hear Sabbath day cafter, the ninth.

. . . The treyaes here *begun* will teake a long tyme or they be ended and it is thought that most may eate their Cris-messe gouse here. . . . There must be thretie or fortie picces gotten (as I have mentioned in several of my former letters, but in cace of their miscarradge I repeate) which Robert and you must give obligations for the repayment of in cace I happen not to return to the cuntric, but either by a naturall or violent death hear, as may be most agreable to the pleashour or will of God . . . for tho' I were at libertie I could not come home without clearing these things that I am due."

“Nov. 8.

“Poor black jock of Skellater dyed in the prison hear to the regrave of all his acquaintance and was buried yesterday—his ladye has been hear of a good tyme with him.

Mr. Francis Stewart, Glenbucket, and the bearer, Logie Almond, a near relation of the D. of Pearthes, are the onlie persons yet sett at liberty by order of the Court out of this prison.

There is faire promises of indecavoures by my Lord Huntlie—what performance will be made I know not. I see a man here who had his remission in Hand (*i.e.* Huntly's) and reade it. It is for lyfe and fortune, but none of his friends is included.

You shall hear from me, God willing, tymlie, so pray have all readie on ane night's advertisement, for I am your

T.

Mind me kyndlie to all that are friendlie to you and it is not impossible, but threatening as matters are, I may give them thanks myself yeate.”

In the City Chambers, Edinburgh, is a copy of the Indictment of Thomas Tulloch of Tannachy and his plea, which is in a slightly different form.

“This Indictment sets forth that on the 28th day of November in the second year of his Majesty's reign he with a great multitude of Rebels and armed men did assemble themselves in a warlike manner at the town of Perth in order to dethrone and murder his Majesty and there committed a miserable and cruel slaughter of his Majesty's faithfull subjects.”

On his own behalf Thomas Tulloch pleaded that there was no law yet in being for judging Scotsmen in England for treason alleged committed in Scotland, and quoted the terms of the Union. But in case the justices shall overrule that point and sustain themselves judges, he is to plead “Not guilty.” He adds, as did John Gordon, that he was not in Perth at the time, but was “Alibe.”

" He was taken from his own house of Tannachy by force of arms on 2nd October 1715 by a party of 24 to 30 men commanded by one Farquharson by order of the Earle of Marr. He was 63 years of age and never experienced in war and told them he could be of no use to them, but neither he nor the crieys of his Lady and children could prevail with them. They carried him to his horse and mounted him by force presenting their pistols at him, he not having so much as a sword in his hand, for some of the party went into the house and took his sword and told him he should have it after he was some miles from his own house, and so they carryed him off and up and down the country to the Marquis of Huntly.

" At last he got away and returned to his own house and went to Inverness and complained to the Earl of Sutherland and to Lord Lovat of the treatment he had met with and was content to surrender himself to them. And their Lordships, till such time as his case should be known to the Government, rather than that he should be under any suspicion of having joyned or countenanced the Rebels, sent him to the Marquis of Huntly to doe what he could to influence him and others his vassalls and followers to surrender to the King's Mercy and to lay down their arms, and after having been backward and forward between them, Mr. Tulloch, the prisoner, at last prevailed to the satisfaction of those Lords who employed him. This is testified by the Lord Lovat under his hand and seal, and would be so, no doubt, by the Earl of Sutherland if he were within the Kingdom.

" At the Town of Inverness, conversing with the Lord Lovat and the Earl of Sutherland, he said he thought he was now safe from any trouble with the Government. And the Earl of Sutherland said the Government would rather reward him for his good service and says his Lordship 'If you do meet with any trouble that way either in your person or estate, I will give you all above my throat.'



“ The prisoner was and is a tenant and vassal to the Marquis of Huntly and stands bound for the performance of personal service in Hosting, Hunting and all other customs and services to his Lordship as appears by the Lease, ready to produce : so that though he had followed his Master, the Marquis of Huntly (which he positively denies) yet he ought to be excused and freed from any punishment for the reasons above mentioned.

“ The County of Murray was always well affected and he, Thomas Tulloch of Tannachy, had a certificate signed by the Sheriffs and the whole of the Justices of the Peace, the whole of the deputy Lieutenants and most of the gentry of greatest power and well affected within the county and of 14 ministers of the Gospel who live near the prisoner and of the Mayor and Aldermen of the borough of Forres, that he was a dutiful and loyal subject and protected others and especially ministers and sheltered several of the neighbouring gentry in his house.

“ So far was he from succouring, aiding or abating of the Rebels, that there being a ship fully loaded with victual and other goods lying at Findhorn he sent it off privately to Inverness to prevent the Rebels seizing it. He could not make his escape from the rebels sooner, as all the ways south were guarded and to the north it was not possible for the fyre of Rebellion in those parts, until Lord Lovat had seized Inverness. In fine, he acted as a good man of great wisdom, experience and Judgment and greatly for the Interests of the Government. And by his prudent management and the excellent character and interest he had among the rebels, he preserved the persons, goods and effects of many of his Majesty's good and lawful subjects, and in such a trying time used the office of a friend and mediator between contending country men and at last brought them to condescend to lay down their arms and return to their duty and obedience to his Majesty, which was then lookt on as a great piece of service, the Pretender being all

that time at Perth. In consideration whereof it was thought by everybody who knew the affair, that the Government would rather have liberally rewarded the prisoner than to have used him as they have done by so long confinement and now trying a man of his age who had behaved so singularly—but, in the confusion of Warr, Justice is not always minded.” (*City Chambers MS.*)

As stated, Thomas Tulloch was the only man *acquitted after trial*. Captain Straiton, writing to the Duke of Mar, January 26, 1717, says: “Tannachy Tulloch stood his trial and came off safe.” (*Stuart Papers. Hist. MSS. Commission.*)

He was acquitted on the grounds that he was forced out by his feudal superior.

The following letter from the notorious Lord Lovat may, or may not, have prejudiced the authorities in his favour:

“I Simon Lovat, Governor of Inverness, do hereby testify and declare that whilst I had the honour and be in arms to serve his Majesty King George in suppressing ye late unnatural Rebellion in ye north of Scotland, Thomas Tulloh of Tanachy was ye first gentleman yt did surrender himself to ye Earl of Sutherland and me untill his case would be represented to ye King and Government, and he being a man of age and experience his surrender proved a happy example to others who did ye like, and I am fully persuaded yt my Lord Huntly owes in some measure the happy step of his life of surrendering himself to ye King’s Mercy to ye good advice yt Thomas Tulloh of Tanachy gave him to yt end. Therefore having appeared very sincere in his repentance for going out with Lord Huntly his superior as I am told and his having since given testimonys of resolutions to live a loyal Subject to our Gracious Sovereign King George and he being to my knowledge a very poor gentleman and of a very good character among his neighbours, I therefore humbly presume

to represent his case as it truly consists with my knowledge  
to ye Right Honble ye Judges appointed by his Majesty to  
judge ye Rebell Prisoners at Carlisle—Given under my hand  
and seal ye 9th day of December at Inverness.

LOVAT.

Dec. 9, 1716.”  
(*P.R.O. State Papers.*)

#### XIV

### ALEXANDER, 12TH LORD SALTOUN

(Suspected by both sides)

DURING the preliminaries for the abortive Jacobite invasion of 1708, Colonel Hooke, the Jacobite agent, reported, while he was in Scotland, staying at Slains with the Dowager Countess of Errol (the Earl being still in Edinburgh) as follows : " At this time Lord Saltoun, a chief of one of the branches of the house of Frazer [*sic*] came on a visit to the countess of Errol. This nobleman assured me of his zeal, but desired me to be upon my guard against the Duke of Hamilton." Then, as later, every Jacobite distrusted his fellow. The 11th Lord Saltoun's name appeared in the letter carried to France by Charles Fleming, inviting James to Scotland in 1708, Saltoun having specially authorized Lord Erroll to sign for him.

His son was Alexander, 12th Lord Saltoun (great-great-great-great-grandfather of present peer), born 1684, died 1748, married in 1707 Mary, daughter of the first Lord Aberdeen, High Chancellor of Scotland.

This Lord Saltoun seems to have been a genuine adherent of the house of Hanover and the Protestant succession, but living in the farthest corner of the Jacobite county of Aberdeen he not only suffered great pressure from Mar's army, but also fell under the suspicion of the Government.

His case was peculiar.

He represented the rival branch of Frasers to that of Lord



Lovat, the head of the clan, both being descended from the French family of Frezel de la Frezelière in Anjou.<sup>1</sup>

Andrew Abernethy, 9th Lord Saltoun, dying without issue in 1669, was succeeded in the title as 10th Lord by his cousin and "heir of line," Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth, who commanded a regiment at the battle of Worcester (his mother was Margaret Abernethy, daughter and (*in her issue*) heiress of the 7th Lord Saltoun).

Alexander was succeeded by his grandson, William, who married the daughter of Archbishop Sharp. It was William, the 11th Baron, who was so ill-used by Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat, as will appear in the sequel. He died in 1715, before the beginning of the Rising, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander, then thirty-one. Unlike his grandfather and great-grandfather, he adopted the Whig side in politics.

When Lovat was making his way to the North of Scotland after his escape from Saumur (as narrated by Major James Fraser of Castle Leathers,<sup>2</sup> who accompanied him), they were compelled to land at Fraserburgh; Lovat expressed himself as unwilling to do this—"He would rather go to sea than land at the man's door for whose father he had erected a gallows." This refers to an unsavoury story, also contained in Major Fraser's Diary.

Many years before, at the time of the death of Hugh, 9th Lord Lovat, in 1696, Simon, who ultimately became the 11th Lord, desired to ensure succession by marrying the nine-year-old daughter and heiress of the deceased Hugh and his wife Amelia, the daughter of the Marquis of Atholl.

The child's maternal grandfather, having suggested to the

<sup>1</sup> Some say the original Fraser was cook to a king of France (Louis VII. ?), and having prepared a delicious dish of strawberries, was granted the name and the strawberry flowers as arms.

<sup>2</sup> Major Fraser's Manuscript, his adventures in Scotland and England, etc., with Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, edited by Alexander Ferguson, Lieut.-Col. D. Douglas, Edinburgh, 1889.

Clan Fraser that he would find them a better man of the name, "a true Fraser and a man of a handsome fortune that would support their whole name," invited William, 11th Lord Saltoun, to come and bring his son the Master as a prospective bridegroom. Threatening letters from the party of "Lord Simon" having been received, Lord Saltoun came, but without his son, to discuss the matter, and "having stayed 8 or 10 days amongst those gentlemen, was very much regailed and in great hopes to have his son Lord Lovat when the girl was ripe."

On his way home he was seized at Bunchrew and carried prisoner to the Tower of Finellan, where he was "secured and the whole county raised in arms and a gallows was erected before the windows of my Lord Saltoun's room and a ladder put up to the gallows, and a gentleman sent in to him to prepare himself for another world; that he had but two days to live . . . the poor gentleman finding this a hard pill to discheast, contracted a bloody flux of which he almost dyed, and upon his recovery begged his life, the gallows having stood all the time before his window." He was eventually let off with his life, having "granted an *obligement* never to return or concern himself with that estate under a certain penalty."

Lovat, as has been said, fearing to land in Fraserburgh, Culloden (John Forbes) answered him, that he believed Lord Saltoun would not hang him (*i.e.* Lovat), and both being very seasick, they landed and went to the best inn of the town. Lord Saltoun, hearing that strangers were in his town, called at the inn "to know what the gentlemen were, that came in from aboard that ship." Lovat, in Gaelic, besought Major Fraser to go in and save him, and the latter having asked Lord Saltoun to give him a drink, concocted a plausible story as to the party being cattle drovers from England, afraid to travel by land for fear of being robbed of their money, and that they were all Mackenzies and Mackays. Lord Saltoun said he would give the Mackenzies good news of their chief, Lord Seaforth,

who had marched the previous day with 1,300 men to Mar's camp at Perth. Major Fraser then proposed to Lord Saltoun that they should drink the healths of the Jacobite chiefs. "My Lord frankly embraced the offer, and drank, beginning at my Lord Marr and downward." He afterwards agreed to provide horses for the party, to convey them to Banff. The district was at the time strongly Jacobite—Lord Saltoun's sympathies were, as we know, in reality on the *other* side, but he seems to have taken it for granted that these people must be helped out of the way, though it is also said by Major Fraser that Mr. Baillie, who provided the party with arms and provisions, was "thereafter ill-used by my Lord Saltoun, who at last paid dear for the same."

Major Fraser's views on the political crisis were confined to an ardent desire to get his chief safely to his own country. Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, was, it must be remembered, an unpardoned outlaw, who had escaped from a mild captivity in France, and had not apparently made up his mind on which side he was to act in the Jacobite Rising, though his travelling with the Laird of Culloden shows pretty plainly what were his inclinations. Shortly afterwards, just before the battle of Sheriffmuir, he withdrew the whole contingent of Frasers who had joined Mar under the leadership of Alexander Fraser of Fraserdale (formerly Alexander Mackenzie), who had actually married and taken the name of the little Amelia to whose hand both Simon Fraser and Lord Saltoun had once aspired. This withdrawal greatly annoyed Mar, though the numerical loss was not very great.

Fraserdale was dispossessed for his share in the Rising, and the title and estates *confirmed* to Simon Fraser as 11th Lord Lovat in 1730. The dates of the various events in Lovat's journey north are not given by Major Fraser, but the travellers obviously passed through Northumberland in early October, as Lord Derwentwater was then in arms, and he did not declare himself until the end of September 1715. They were

in Dumfries in mid-October, and at Fraserburgh in the first week of November. The whole of Aberdeenshire was largely Jacobite, and very soon after Lord Saltoun's encounter with Major Fraser he himself had an unpleasant experience. In the *Annals of Peterhead* it is recorded that "Baillie Cruickshank and all the persons named having gone along with the said Mr. Leith under arms and in their best equipage, did meet the Lord Saltoun about half a mile distant from the town of Fraserburgh and obliged him to stop until the General (Lord Mar's) orders were read to him in presence of the whole persons assembled and having challenged him for contemning the said General's proclamation for the last imposed Cess.—He answered that he was to pay no money wtout ane act of Parliament, and likeways it was peremptorily agin and agin demanded of him that he should declare himself what Partie he inclyned to Joyn with, which in no name he would doe, and being required to find baill to appear at His Majesty's royal standard, he answered, he regarded neither Mr. Leith or his orders more than a footman; and further said that at a whisill he could rais an hundred men and caus them feight all their present. To which the said Baillie Cruickshank answered that he believed we were not to see them at ffraserburgh where wee (that is William Clark, the writer of the Minutes) immediately went and proclaimed the King with all the Solemnity we could, which wee found did oblige the most of the Inhabitants of that town." They also took possession of some arms and ammunition left there by Lovat and Forbes of Culloden. Shortly after this, Lord Saltoun was forcibly carried to Perth and kept with Mar's army, and having escaped from this durance was thereafter imprisoned by the Government. Several letters from him are in the Public Record Office. The first was written in the early spring of 1716 when he was confined in Aberdeen by order of the Duke of Argyll.



“ Memorial and Representation of Alexander Lord Saltoun to his Grace John Duke of Argyll, 18 of February 1715-16.

The Lord Saltoun having done himself the Honour to make a visitt to the Duke of Argyll and to wait on his Grace how soon after his health could allow him, was surprysed to find he had been misrepresented to his Grace, considering how zealously he had appeared for his Majesty King George and how much suffered from those who were in the Pretender's interest whose measures he had opposed by denying (as is well known) to doe the least thing was required of him by the Earls of Mar and Marischall and oyers ; and declaring that as he had taken the oaths, soe he would always continue his loyalty to the King, and accordingly he would never agree to permitt any of his men to rise and joyn in the Rebellion and would not allow the Pretender to be proclaimed in his town of Fraserburgh, the only place of note within sixty miles where these proclamations were hindered, and he did publicly stop the reading Mar's proclamations and orders for Cess in churches and Meeting houses, because they were against law and mentioned the Pretender under title of King, and he absolutely refused to turn out the established ministers or to grant presentations to other ministers in the parishes where he is patron, tho often entreated so to doe. Also he caused his Baillics in Fraserburgh to give all the assistance they could to those that went to the North about the King's service,<sup>1</sup> and he did not allow what they called the Committee of Aberdeen's orders anent the ships in the harbour to be observed or regarded because they tended to the service of the Pretender, but shewed all due regard to the directions sent to his Baillics by the Provost of Edinburgh. These and other instances made the Lord Saltoun obnoxious to the wrath of the Rebels, who frequently came to his house and town in great numbers searching for arms and horses and did him severall damages and att last took himself prisoner

<sup>1</sup> This possibly refers to the horses lent to Culloden and Lovat in November.

when they carried him to Aberdeen under guard of 40 men commanded by Mr. Hay of Arnbath and Irvine of Crimond and at same time put a garrison in his town and imposed double taxes on his lands and detained himself prisoner on his paroll to goe to any place Earl of Mar should order. In the meantime Lord Saltoun took care that the King's affairs might suffer as little as possible in his part of the country, and therefore when he was forced to obey his paroll and after a month's confinement at Aberdeen to goe to Perth, he dissolved the Magistracy of Fraserburgh, thereby it put it out of their power to give any obedience to the orders of the Rebels who daily pretended to give them commands aboutt ships, which by these means they were now hindered in executing. All this together with Lord Saltoun's denying to give any compliance to Mar's letter of loan to him for a thousand pounds sterling, occasioned him to meet with great hardships and bad usages at Perth from the Pretender's assistants, whose requests he always denied, telling that notwithstanding all their threatenings he never would engage in their service and absolutely refused to joyn in any squadron or assist in any of their counsells, but entreated for his liberation being still resolved to keep his duty to the King inviolable. Nor did he kiss the Pretender's hand nor did he goe into his bed-chamber, but at those times he was called by him as a prisoner and his favouritts were so enraged at the Lord Saltoun's stiff humour as they called it that he never could procure his liberty all the time the rebells were at Perth though he was dayly solliciting for it, till that by the success of the Duke of Argyll's arms, He got his escape made at Dundee in the tyme the Rebells were there in the confusion of their flight.

The Lord Saltoun must think himself most unfortunatt after having suffered so many injuries from the Rebells on account of his loyalty to the King now to be confined under injurious suspicion of bad conduct, he having not only suffered for his Majesty, but also had the honour of doing him con-

siderable services. He persuadeth himself that His Majesty in his known Justice and goodness will speedily order his Liberation and reward his loyalty and suffering, seeing he still acted the part of so firm and loyall a subject to his present Majesty even in all the many difficulties he was in amongst the Rebels.

SALTOUN."

The second document was written ten days later.

"Aberdeen, 29 February, 1716.

"To his Grace the Duke of Argyll.

May it please your Grace

To pardon that my circumstances make me presume to offer your Grace so frequent trouble to begg your Grace's remembrance of me and I persuade myself that when your Grace acquaints his Majesty wt. these known matters of fact contained in my memorial, which I here at Aberdeen did present to your Grace, orders will be given for my speedy liberation. In the meantime I suffer great hardships and ill usages ever since your Grace went from this, and getts rude centinells put even within my bedchamber, so I must confide in your Grace's justice and generosity to consider how hard is the fate of any peer or gentleman in this country to be so used, even when there are such proofs of his Innocency and loyalty, and I hope your Grace will interpose in my behalf and doe me the honour of a speedy return I having the honour ever to be with most profound respect May it please your grace

Your grace's most faithfull, most obedient and most  
humble servant

SALTOUN."

Six months later he writes to the Lord Justice Clerk, Adam Cockburn.

“ August 16, 1716.

“To the Lord Justice Clerk.

MY LORD,

I am sorry I have the misfortune to be under any suspicion or displeasure of the Government, but my Innocency gives me such confidence as persuades me that when my case is enquired into, it will appear that I served his Majestic with all the zeal I was capable of, and during my Imprisonment at Aberdeen and Pearth still continued firm in my duty for which I have good attestations. I should therefore hope your Lordship will have the goodness as to admit me to Baill and allow me to come to Edinburgh with the officer who guards me, for I very much desire to have my liberty and am hopefull that if my conduct were examined none in his Majestic's service would encline to do me any hardship. I entreat your Lordship may be pleased to excuse this trouble and grant me a favourable return and believe me to be with great respect and truth  
My Lord

Your Lop's most obedient and most faithfull hum servt.

SALTOUN.

Aberdeen, August 16th, 1716.

I shall either give my bond of bail to your Lop at Edinburgh or to your Lop's orders here as your Lop please.”

The Lord Justice Clerk, in forwarding this letter to Townshend, says he ascertained that Lord Saltoun was committed to prison by the Duke of Argyll—he asked whether there was any written warrant for so doing. The officer replied that he *never saw any*.

Townshend's answer to this letter of August 23rd is not in the State Papers but in the Entry Book.



*Townshend to Cockburn*

“ Hampton Court,  
September 1, 1716.

“ MY LORD,

Having laid before his Royal Highness what your Lordship wrote to me in your letter of the 23rd in relation to the Lord Saltoun, it is His R.H.'s pleasure that he be sett at Liberty upon his finding baill for his good behaviour, to appear when required, if upon Examination your Lordship find that there is no evidence against him.”

He was then released and survived until 1748.

During the second Jacobite Rising the 12th Lord Saltoun managed to keep clear of all connection with it. His uncle, the Hon. James Fraser, was “ out ” in 1715.

## XV

### THE 11TH LORD LOVAT (Actually in the '15 only Simon Fraser, often called Lord Simon)

OF the conduct of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, during the Rising of 1715 only a few words need be said ; he was *not* a Jacobite, but his conduct had a great influence on the course of events.

Simon was the only son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, who claimed to be *de jure* 10th Lord Lovat in succession to his cousin, Hugh, 9th Lord, who left only daughters. Thomas never enjoyed the title, as Amelia, eldest daughter of Hugh, the 9th Lord, and of Amelia, daughter of the Marquis of Atholl, was at first (by the efforts of her grandfather) recognized as Baroness Lovat, and owner of the estates. Simon, as is well known, tried to marry this child, and, failing in his design, effected a forced marriage, *so-called*, with her widowed mother. For this and other crimes of violence he was outlawed and banished, and for subsequent tortuous intrigues for and against the Jacobites of St. Germain, in which he betrayed each party to the other, he was, at the instance of Mary, the Queen-mother, imprisoned in France for many years. But the clan Fraser, who objected to being led and ruled by the little Amelia's husband, Alexander Mackenzie of Prestonhall, called after his marriage Fraser of Fraserdale, sent Major Fraser to effect Simon's escape and return to England, and subsequently to convey him secretly to Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert Arbuthnot wrote a letter, now in the French Foreign Office Archives, warning his fellow Jacobites that Fraser had escaped and would be very dangerous. "Il s'est sauvé en Angleterre."

Major Fraser's manuscript, already quoted, gives a lively account of Lovat's return from his long detention in France.

A bail-bond was subscribed to facilitate the return of the outlaw. The signatories and guarantors being four prominent northern Whigs—Brigadier Grant, John Forbes of Culloden, Sir William Gordon of Invergordon, and Sir Robert Munro of Foulis. Major Fraser and his brother, with John Forbes of Culloden, managed to conduct Lovat to Scotland, as detailed in the picturesque narrative entitled *Major Fraser's Manuscript*, Edinburgh, 1887.

Simon's own avowed object was to make himself "the greatest Lord Lovat that ever was." He certainly became the most notorious. Seeing clearly the futility of the Rising under Mar, even before the disasters of Sheriffmuir and Preston, he decided to throw in his lot with the Government, and in conjunction with his friend, Duncan Forbes, younger brother of Culloden, certainly performed notable services in the North, the chief of which was the retaking of Inverness, November 10, 1715.

He then used his influence entirely on the side of the Government; the authorities in Edinburgh agreeing that it was more owing to him than to any man that the Rising failed.

Though like Charles James Fox, he was, from his portraits, ugly and even repulsive in appearance, he seems to have had the same curious fascination for his contemporaries, and he tried to bring in some of the Jacobites by wiles.

He wrote to Glenbucket a diplomatic letter with absolutely untrustworthy promises of friendship.

"Inverness, January 20, 1716.

"My being your comrade at the College makes me give you my humble service, though we be on different lays. . . . When all this is over, men of honour will be known, and

whatever comes, and tho' we should fight against one another, that will never make me forget our old comradeship."

Huntly wrote equally insincerely to Lord Lovat, alluding to their friendship in youth, and hoping for preferential treatment in making his submission to Government, whose representative Lovat was for the moment.

"Tannachy Tulloch" (page 284) made his submission to Lovat, and all the clan Fraser of course followed the lead of the chief, as well as many of his neighbours.

On the 9th March 1717 Lovat wrote to Lord Townshend that "the taking by me of the Castle of Inverness was one of the greatest motifs to force the Pretender to go off from Montrose." He adds that three members of his own kindred are still going about for the Pretender; and he would be glad to seize them, but he has no order to do so. He also says that he knows he rendered more essential services to the King than *any* of his rank in Scotland. He complains that his enemies misrepresent him, and ends his letter with "*mais les absents ont toujours tort, quelque chose qu'ils fassent.*"

Although it was entirely owing to Lord Sutherland's support that Lovat obtained his free pardon and remission of outlawry for his crimes, the latter said ungratefully that "Sutherland was no more use in putting down the Rebellion than an old wife," and took all the credit to himself.

He eventually got what he wanted, for Fraserdale having been an avowed Jacobite, was attainted, and Simon's claim to be heir male to the estates and title was the more readily granted. He obtained possession of the former directly after the Rising; the latter not being officially granted him until 1730.

In 1745, as is well known, he tried to side with both parties, and on the complete collapse of the Rising, though nearly eighty years old, eventually lost his head, on Tower Hill, on the 9th April 1747.





## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX I

DECLARATION OF JAMES FRANCIS STUART, two and a half months after the death of Queen Anne, October 15, 1714.

(This declaration is long—but of great interest, and is not printed in most histories.)

“His Majesty’s Most Gracious Declaration.

JAMES R.

James the 8th by the Grace of God of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever Greeting. As we are firmly resolved never to lose an Opportunity of asserting our undoubted Title to the Imperial Crown of these Realms, and of endeavouring to get the Possession of that Right which is devolved upon us by the Laws of God and Man ; so We must in Justice to the Sentiments of our own Hearts, declare, That nothing in the World can give us so great satisfaction as to owe to the endeavour of our Loyal Subjects both our own and their Restoration to that happy Settlement, which can alone deliver this Church and Nation from the Calamities which they at present lye under and those future Miseries which may be the Consequences of the present Usurpation. During the Life of our Dear Sister, of glorious Memory,<sup>1</sup> the happiness which our People enjoy’d softened in some degree the hardships of our own fate and we

<sup>1</sup> Since Anne was not a member of his own Church, James could not be induced to describe her in the usual form as of “blessed memory.” Bolingbroke regretted his obstinacy, which, he felt, might alienate some possible supporters.



must confess that when we reflected on the goodness of her Nature and her Inclination to Justice, we could not but persuade our self, that she intended to establish and perpetuate the Peace which she had given to these Kingdoms, by destroying for ever all Competitions to the Succession of the Crown, and by securing to us, at last, the enjoyment of that Inheritance, out of which we had been so long kept ; which her Conscience must inform her was our due ; and which her Principles must bend her to desire, that we might obtain.

But since the time it pleased Almighty God to put a Period to her Life, and not to suffer Us to throw our self, as we then fully purposed to have done upon our People, we have not been able to look upon the present Condition of our Kingdoms, or to consider their future prospect, without all the Horror and Indignation which ought to fill the Breast of every Scotchman.

We have beheld a Foreign Family, Aliens to our Country, distant in Blood, and strangers even to our Language, ascend the Throne.

We have seen the Reins of Government put into the Hands of a Faction ; and that Authority which was designed for the Protection of all, exercised by a few of the worst, to the Oppression of the best and greatest Number of our Subjects. Our Sister has not been left to rest in her Grave, her Name has been scurrilously abused, her Glory as far as in these People lay, insolently defaced and her faithful Servants inhumanly persecuted, a Parliament has been procured by the most unwarrantable Influences, and by the grossest Corruptions, to serve the vilest Ends ; and they who ought to be Guardians of the Liberties of the People, are become the Instances of Tyranny, whilst the principle Powers, engaged in the late Wars, enjoy the blessings of Peace and are attentive to discharge their Debts and ease the People, Great Britain in the Midst of Peace, feels all the load of a War. New debts are contracted, new Armies are raised at Home. Dutch

#### DECLARATION OF JAMES FRANCIS STUART

Forces are brought into these Kingdoms, and by taking possession of the Dutchy of Bremen, in violation of the Publick Faith, a Door is opened by the Usurper, to let in an inundation of Foreigners from Abroad, and to reduce these Nations to the state of a Province, to one of the most inconsiderable Provinces of the Empire.

These are some few of the many real Evils into which these Kingdoms have been betray'd under pretences of being rescued and secured from Dangers purely Imaginary, and these are such consequences of abandoning the old Constitution, as we persuade ourselves very many of those who promoted the present unjust and illegal Settlement never intended.

We observe with the utmost satisfaction, That the generality of our Subjects are awakened with a just sense of their Danger, and that they shew themselves disposed to take such measures as may effectually rescue them from that Bondage, which has, by the artifice of a few designing Men, and by the concurrence of many Unhappy Causes, been brought upon them. We adore the Wisdom of the Divine Providence, which has opened a way to our Restoration, by the success of those very Measures that were laid to disappoint us for ever, and we must earnestly conjure all our loving subjects not to suffer that Spirit to faint or die away, which has been so miraculously raised in all parts of the Kingdom, but to pursue, with all the vigour and hopes of Success which so just and righteous a Cause ought to Inspire, those Methods which the finger of God seems to point out to them.

We are come to take our part in all Dangers and Difficulties to which every one of our Subjects may be exposed on this important Occasion, to relieve our Subjects of Scotland, from the hardships they groan under on account of the late unhappy Union, and to restore the Kingdom to its ancient free and independent state.

We have before our Eyes, the example of our Royal Grandfather who fell a Sacrifice to Rebellion, and of our

Royal Uncle, who by a train of Miracles escaped the Rage of the Barbarous and Bloodthirsty rebels, and lived to exercise his Clemency towards those who had waged War against his Father and himself, who had driven him to seek shelter in foreign Lands, and who had even set a Price upon his head.

We see the same Instances of Cruelty renewed against us, by men of the same Principles, without any other Reason than the consciousness of their own Guilt, and the implacable Malice of their own Hearts, for in the account of such Men it is a Crime sufficient to be born their King, but God forbid that we should tread in those steps, or that the Cause of a Lawful Prince and an injured People, should be carried on like that of Usurpation and Tyranny, and owe its support to Assassins. We shall Copy after the Patterns above mentioned and be ready with the former of our Royal Ancestors to Seal the Cause of Country, if such be the Will of Heaven, with our Blood, but we hope for better things ; We hope with the latter, to see our just Rights, and those of the Church and People of Scotland once more settled in a free and independent Scots Parliament, on their Ancient Foundation. To such a Parliament which We will immediately call, shall we intirely refer both our and their Interests, being sensible that these Interests, rightly understood, are always the same. Let the Civil as well as Religious Rights of all our Subjects, receive their Confirmation in such a Parliament, let Consciences truly tender be Indulged, let Property of every kind be better than ever secured ; let an Act of General Grace and Amnesty, extinguish the Fears even of the most Guilty ; if possible, let the very Remembrance of all that has preceded this happy Moment, be utterly blotted out, that our Subjects may be united to us, and to each other, in the strictest bonds of Affection as well as Interest.

And that nothing may be omitted which is in our Power to contribute to this desirable End, We do by these presents

## DECLARATION OF JAMES FRANCIS STUART

absolutely and effectually, for Us, our Heirs, and Successors Pardon, Remit and Discharge all Crimes of High Treason, Misprision of Treason and all other Crimes and Offences whatsoever, done or committed against Us, or Our Royal Father of Blessed Memory, by any of Our Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, who shall at or after Our Landing, and before they engage in any Action against Us, or Our Forces, from that time lay hold on Mercy, and return to that duty and Allegiance which they owe to Us, their only Rightful and Lawful Sovereign.

By the joint endeavours of Us and Our Parliaments, urged by these Motives, and directed by these Views, We may hope to see the Peace and flourishing Estate of this Kingdom in a short time, restored, And We shall be equally forward to concert with Our Parliament such further measures as may be thought necessary for leaving the same to future Generations.

And we hereby Require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewarts of Stewartries or their Deputies and Magistrates of Burghs to publish this Our Declaration, immediately after it shall come to their Hands, in the usual Places and Manner, under the Pain of being proceeded against for failure thereof and forfeiting the benefit of Our General Pardon.

Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy Signet at Our Court of Commercy the 25th day of October in the 15th Year of Our Reign.”

A skit on the two Declarations issued by James was published not long after, from which the following is extracted :

“The Pretender’s declarations transposed by John Asgill.

Burleigh St. Amen Corner, 1716.

I. Sent by post from Plombières the 29th day of August 1714, being the 14th year since the first thoughts of our heart ascended into our head. . . . The present King was born in



Germany and is unacquainted with the laws and customs of these kingdoms.

Whereas we ourselves were born (once, if not twice) in our own country and continued there until our age of eight months or thereabouts by which we became early acquainted with the Genius of the people and the customs of the country and have since been educated in the Science and laws thereof. . . .

2. The second declaration dated the 25th of October 1714 in the 15th year of our Losses and pretences." (James II. died 16th September 1701.)

## APPENDIX II

### THE ACTS FOR ENCOURAGING LOYALTY

C20. *Anno primo Georgii Regis Stat. 2.* A.D. 1714

#### *Capt. XX*

“An act for encouraging all Superiors, Vassals, Landlords and Tenants in Scotland who do and shall continue in their Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty King George ; and for discouraging all Superiors, Vassals, Landlords and tenants there who have been or shall be guilty of rebellious practices against his said Majesty ; and for making void all fraudulent Entails, Tailzies and Conveyances made there, for barring and excluding the Effect of Forfeitures that may have been or shall be occurred there upon any such Account ; as also for calling any suspected Person or Persons, whose estates or principal Residence are in Scotland, to appear at Edinburgh, or where it shall be judged expedient, to find Bail for their good behaviour ; and for the better disarming disaffected persons in Scotland.”

The Act is very long—about 1,300 words. The second paragraph, called in margin 20 Geo. II., c. 43, is thus described : “Tenants continuing dutiful to his Majesty shall hold their lands etc. of persons attainted without paying any rent etc. for 2 years. Exchequer in Scotland to pass signatures in favour of such Vassals without any Composition.”

“The Lands of Tenants guilty of Treason shall recognose into the hands of Superiors.” (From the Acts in the House of Lords.)

From the *Annals of George I.* (anon. 1716) is taken the following :

By a Warrant attached to the " Act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland," of August 30th 1715, 1 Geo. I., No. 40, these were summoned to appear in Edinburgh on a certain date. (The date of the Warrant was Sept. 1, 1715, issued to " Sir David Dalrymple our Advocate and Sir James Stewart our Solicitor.")

I. The Marquis of Huntly.

The Earls of Seaforth.

Winton.

Carnwath.

Southesk.

Nithsdale.

Linlithgow.

Mar.

Kinnoull.

Panmure.

Marischal.

Breadalbane.

Viscounts Kenmure.

Stormont.

Kilsyth.

Kingston.

Strathallan.

The Lords Ogilvie.

Rollo.

Drummond.

Nairn.

Glenorchy.

II. Sir Jas. Campbell, Auchinbreck.

Sir Duncan Campbell, Auchnell.

Sir Donald Macdonald.

Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre.

Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn.

THE ACTS FOR ENCOURAGING LOYALTY

Alex. Erskine, Lord Lyon.  
Sir John Maclean.  
Lt.-Gen. George Hamilton.  
The Master of Stormont.  
The Master of Nairn.  
Master Alex. McKenzie of Fraserdale.  
James Stirling of Keir.  
Robert Stewart of Appin.  
John Campbell of Achabalder.  
William Murray, Yr. of Auchtertyre.  
Alex. Robertson of Strowan.  
Laird of Mackinnon.  
Laird of Clanranald.  
Laird of Glengarry.  
Laird of Keppoch.  
Graham of Bucklivy.  
Master John Drummond.  
Lyon of Auchterhouse.  
William Drummond.  
Mr. Seaton of Touch.  
Lt. Allan Cameron.<sup>1</sup>  
Rob Roy, alias McGrigor.  
Mr. Stewart of Ard.  
Master Francis Stewart, brother to Moray.  
John Cameron of Lochiel.  
Mr. John Fullarton of Greenhall.  
Mackintosh Junr. of Borlum.<sup>2</sup>  
James Malcolm.<sup>3</sup>  
Mr. Henry Maule.<sup>4</sup>  
Walkinshaw of Barrowfield.<sup>5</sup>  
Colin Campbell of Glendaruel.<sup>6</sup>  
George Home of Whitfield.

<sup>1</sup> Lochiel's brother. See page 126.

<sup>2</sup> The Brigadier. See page 75.

<sup>3</sup> See page 73.

<sup>4</sup> See page 273.

<sup>5</sup> Father of Clementina Walkinshaw.

<sup>6</sup> See page 39.



Colonel Balfour.

Master Balfour.

Bethune of Balfour.

(In all, twenty-one peers and forty-one gentlemen.)

The only two who obeyed this order were, as already stated, Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre and Alexander Erskine, the Lord Lyon—who were both imprisoned.

The list of names was of the nature of an appendix to the Act, and issued a few days later.

The body of the Act contained, as has been seen, the provisions whereby the vassals and subtenants of any who should be in arms with the Pretender were to hold their lands, etc., henceforth direct from the Crown, and “all such tenants who shall continue peaceable and in dutiful Allegiance to his Majesty shall occupy such lands, woods, fishings or tenements for two years freely without payment of any rent Duty or Service.”

It also enacts that “all Lord Lieutenants and any deputy they may appoint shall have the right of search for weapons, etc., in any suspected house, and all lieges must help and shall be held sacred and scatheless while doing so. No search to be made in any peer’s house without royal warrant. No search to be made between sunset and sunrise in any house in the country, though in the town it may be so made.”

A further Act, entitled “The Act for securing the peace of the Highlands,” 1 Geo. I., No. 92, states that “the custom of bearing arms has prevented persons applying themselves to husbandry trade and other virtuous and honourable employments—therefore be it enacted that it shall not be lawful for anyone in the northern Counties to have in their custody use or bear, broadsword or Targett, poynard or whingar or dirk, Side pistoll or gun or any other warlike weapons.

Not to apply to peers or Commoners with a yearly income of 400£ Scots and qualified to vote. Hunting, hosting, watching and warding dues to be compounded for money after 1717.”

## APPENDIX III

### ACTS OF ATTAINDER

#### From the Acts in the House of Lords

*Anno primo Georgi Regis.*

543 of S.P. 33 (29) Act to attain John Earl of Mar, William Murray, Esq. commonly called Marquess of Tullibardine, James Earle of Linlithgow and James Drummond Esq. commonly called Lord Drummond.

617. ACT FOR ATTAINTING THE FOLLOWING PERSONS  
(1 George I. (1714), No. 76)

#### WHEREAS

George, Earl of Marischale.

William, Earl of Seaforth.

James, Earl of Southesque.

James, Earl of Panmuir.

William, Viscount Kilsyth.

James, Viscount of Kingston.

Robert, Lord Burleigh.

Kenet, Lord Duffus.

James Ogilvie, commonly called Lord Ogilvie.

William Sutherland, Laird of Roscommon, brother to  
Lord Duffus.

Lieut.-General George Hamilton.

Major-General Thomas Gordon, Laird of Auchintoul.

Colonel John Hay, son to the Earl of Kinoule.

Major William Clephane.  
 Sir David Threppland of ffigask.  
 Sir Hugh Patterson of Bannockburn.  
 Sir Donald Macdonald of Slate.  
 Sir John Preston of Prestonhall.  
 Sir John Mackenzie of Coul.  
 Master James Malcolm of Grange.  
 Mr. John Stuart of Innernithy.  
 Master Alexander Robertson of Strowan.  
 Master John Walkinshaw of Scotstoune.  
 Master George Mackenzie, son of Delvin.  
 George Mackenzie of Ballamukie.  
 Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale.  
 Roderick Mackenzie of ffairburn.  
 Alexander Mackenzie of Applecron.  
 Donald Mackenzie of Kiltowie.  
 John Mackenzie of Avach.  
 Alexander Mackenzie of Dachmalnach.  
 John Sinclair, commonly called Master of Sinclair.  
 Alexander Farquharson, of Inverray.  
 Colin Campbell, Laird of Glenderule.  
 John Cameron, younger of Lochiel.  
 James Stirling of Keir.  
 William Grahame of Duntroon.  
 Robert Campbell, alias McGrigor, commonly called Rob  
 Roy.  
 John Oliphant, late Baillie of Dundee.  
 Robert Stuart of Apin.  
 Hugh Ross, Laird of Clava.  
 John McDougall of Lorne.  
 John Grant, Laird of Glenmorison.  
 John McKinnin, Laird of McKinnin.  
 Roderick Chisholm of Strathglass.  
 Alexander McDonald of Glenco.  
 John McCrea of Davachearty.

ACTS OF ATTAINDER

Alexander McDonald, Laird of Glengarry.

Ronald MacDonnald, Captain of Clan Ranald,  
on or before the 13th day of November One thousand seven  
hundred and fifteen did in a tratorous and hostile manner take  
up arms and levy war against his present most gracious  
Majesty within this realm, contrary to the duty of their  
allegiance and are fled to avoid being apprehended,  
these are therefore attainted of high treason should they not  
surrender themselves before the last day of June 1716. And  
the Justices of the Peace are hereby ordered to commit every  
one of them to prison for the said High Treason there to remain  
till he shall be discharged by due course of law, and thereof  
immediately to give notice to one of his Majesty's principal  
Secretaries of State.



## APPENDIX IV

### PRISONERS SENT TO CARLISLE, AND PRISONERS WHO ESCAPED

AN aftermath of the Rising is the history of the large number of prisoners taken at Sheriffmuir and elsewhere who were marched from Edinburgh, Stirling, and Blackness to Carlisle for their trials ; it being fully realized that Scottish juries would probably not convict their fellow countrymen.

The lists are all among the State Papers. (*S.P.* 54, 12.)

It was, of course, a flagrant violation of the Act of Union to convey these men to England to be tried, and many protests were made, but without avail.

Of the eighty prisoners, nearly twenty were condemned to death, but *respited*, and no executions followed, except that of William Ainslie.

Others were discharged for "lack of proceedings," *i.e.* evidence. These were about thirty in number, while a similar number were "pardoned without trial by the King's Clemency." One died in captivity (John Forbes of Invercrannan). One escaped (William Hay of Perth), and one only, Thomas Tulloch of Tannachy (*q.v.*) had a fair trial and was "acquitted."

(*S.P.* 54, 18, 152.)

List of prisoners that marched for Carlisle 3rd September 1716 out of the Castles of Stirling and Blackness :

Robert Murray, brother to Abercainey.

Hay, son to Arnboth.

PRISONERS SENT TO CARLISLE

Mr. Patrick Gordon, eldest son to Aberlour (see page 73).

Alexander Forbes, son to Buffley (see page 73).

William Robertson, brother of Darniehills.

William Kinloch, Phisitian.

Alexander Smith of the family of MacIntosh.

John Hamilton of Gibston in Strathbogie (see page 202).

George Gordon of the Mill of Kincairn.

Robert Rollo of Powhouse—elder.

James Rollo, younger, his son.

William Stewart, brother to the Laird of Ardvorlich.

James Carnegie, Surgeon in Brechin.

James Gardon or Gordon, Surgeon to Sir Donald McDonald.

John Robertson, brother german to Alex. Robertson of Strathlock.

Archibald Fotheringham, son to Powrie.

Colin McKenzie of Kindin.

John Ratray.

George Taylor, writer in Edinburgh.

Alex. Garioch, writer in Edinburgh.

Patrick Stewart, writer in Edinburgh.

James Stewart in the land of Boyne.

Charles Garden.

William Adamson.

Thomas Robison of Ballantrurn.

John Stewart of Foss.

John Stewart of Glenbuckie.

Patrick Robison of Dungartle.

James Carnegie of Bonnymoon.

(The four following) were in the list to march but were certified by Phisitians and Chiruigions to be dangerously ill.

Dr. Alexander Gordon.

Francis Gordon of Craig.

William Nairn of Baldaven.

Patrick Auchterlony, Merchant in Montrose.

1715 : THE STORY OF THE RISING

List of prisoners that marcht for Carlisle on Tuesday the 4th of September out of the three prisons in Edinburgh :

Thomas Tulloch of Tannachie.

James Carnegy of Phinhaven.

John Paton of Grandarm.

Sylvester Douglas of Whiteriggs.

John Lindsay of Pitscandle.

Patrick Bannerman, merchant in Aberdeen.

Mr. George Maule, factor to the Earl of Panmure.

James Spencer, merchant in Brechin.

William Ker of Abbotrule.

William Scot, Doctor of Medicine.

Thomas Cranstoun, Clerk of Kelso.

William Ainslie of Blackhill.

Robert Trotter in Belford.

Andrew Rutherford, Chirurgeon, and Apothecary in Jedburgh.

Alex. Burnett, Baillie of Burntisland.

Walter Graham, Merchant in Dundee.

George Robertson, officer of excise in Burntisland.

Andrew Auchinleck.

Andrew Seaton, elder of Lafrisk.

Andrew Seaton, yr. thereof.

Captain Patrick Achmoutie.

Alexander Charles, Procurator at Aberdeen.

James Gordon, Brewer at Aberdeen.

John Forbes, Baillie to the Earl of Mar, alias "Black Jock."

James Lapange, Fencing master.

James Irvine, Gadger.

James Erskine, Brother to the Laird of Pittodrie.

(Dr. Carmichael of Dunblane

(William Ogilvie, Chamberlain to the Earl of Erroll were in the list to march, but were certified by ffour phisitians to be dangerously ill.

PRISONERS SENT TO CARLISLE

List of prisoners in the Castle of Edinburgh that marcht for Carlisle on Wed. the 5th of Sept :

Alexander Lord Marquis of Huntly.

John Carstairs of Kilconquhar.

Master Francis Stewart, brother to the Earl of Murray.

Colonel John Balfour of Fearnie.

Major Henry Balfour of Dunboig.

Alex. McKenzie of Frazerdale.

Colin Campbell of Ormondell, called Brigr. Campbell.

John Gordon of Glenbucket.

Sir Thomas Calder of Muirtown.

Thomas Drummond of Logiealmond.

William Murray, younger, of Auchtertyre.

James Burnet of Monboddo.

John Ross, son to the late Bishop of Edinburgh.

John Gordon, uncle to the Earl of Aboyne (see page 248)

Mr. William Hay in Perth.

Thomas Drummond, brother to the Lord Strathallan.

William Forbes of Blacktoun.

Colonel James Urquhart. (Jacobite agent in Scotland.)

David Garden of Laton is in the list to march but is certified by four phisitians and Surgeons to be dangerously ill.

(Sir James Steuart wrote of a proposed rescue of prisoners going to Carlisle on September 4th, but no such thing seems to have been attempted.)

Rollo and Strathallan, as Peers, were kept in Edinburgh, also Lord Stormont, father of James Murray.

Huntly being only a Peer's *son* was ordered to Carlisle, but was recalled.

Lord Wintoun escaped from the Tower of London. Lord Carnwath was detained in the Castle.

Prisoners who escaped from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh were :

David Thriepland, son to the Laird of Fingask, and

John Wilson.



And these others from Winton House in the Canongate,  
Sept. 1, 1716 :

James Beaton of Balfour.

William Menzies of Pitfodels.

John Hutchinson, Merchant of Aberbrothick.

"By procuring a hole to be picked for them through a thick stone wall into a contiguous house. The woman that possessed the house from which the hole was made is committed to prison." (*S.P.* 54, 12, 147.)

General Carpenter calls the house the Winton House prison, in the suburbs, *i.e.* outside the gates of the City of Edinburgh. He is anxious to exonerate the military, who were not in charge of this prison, but he has now placed guards there.

An earlier escape had taken place from the Castle itself, as the Lord Justice Clerk, in a letter of 7th August 1716, says, "Some people had afforded the prisoners materials to cutt the quaitts of the windows that gave laight to the vault where they lay, and the window was the West. No ground but the rock underneath, all of them escaped, save one who is killed upon the rock." (*S.P.* 54, 12, 97.) Cockburn adds that he enclosed the list of the names of those who escaped, but does not. He states, however, that they were "common men," not officers. They numbered eighteen, exclusive of the one killed.

This account of the escape is interesting, as it has often been said that no one has ever succeeded in escaping down the rock from Edinburgh Castle, but these men obviously did so.

Cockburn said he proposed to notify the parishes from which the prisoners came, to seize them, but nothing seems to have been done.

In *Edinburgh*, by Robert Chambers, is to be found the following :

"Several of the rebel gentlemen, confined in the Tolbooth in 1716 were fortunate in escaping, a fact on which there was lately thrown a flood of light when in a manuscript list of

#### PRISONERS SENT TO CARLISLE

subscriptions for the relief of the other rebel gentlemen at Carlisle, the names of the Guidman of the Tolbooth (chief under-keeper) was down for a good sum.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There was at least one escape from Carlisle as chronicled in the State Papers (S.P. 35, 8, 79) : “ On the 9th day of February 1717 Mr. William Hay and Alexander Hay were dining in the Master Gunner’s house when William escaped.”

of .

## APPENDIX V

### JACOBITE REFUGEES AT AVIGNON

THE names of the Jacobite refugees present with the Old Chevalier at Avignon in the year after the Rising are to be found in a Manuscript list at Avignon. (*MS. Musée Calvet, Avignon*, 2827, 611.)

Listes des Anglais, de la suite de Jacques III d'Angleterre  
arrivés à Avignon en 1716, le 2 avril

M. le duc d'Ormond, islandois, Generalis-  
simo par terre et par mer.

M. le duc de Mar, écossois, Premier gentil-  
homme de la chambre.

#### *Milords*

Maresshal . . . . .	Ecos.
Soulhak (Southesk) . . . . .	Ecos.
Panmure . . . . .	Ecos.
Lintististgow (Linthgow) . . . . .	Ecos.
Tullibardine . . . . .	Ecos.
Kilsith . . . . .	Ecos.
Kingston . . . . .	Ecos.
Ogilvie . . . . .	Ecos.
George Murray . . . . .	Ecos.
Keits, frère de M. Maresshal . . . . .	Ecos.
Askein (Erschine), frère de M. Southark . . . . .	Ecos.

# JACOBITE REFUGEES AT AVIGNON

## *Lieut.-Généraux*

Kelin (Cullen)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irlan.
Hamilton	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Gordon (Auchintoul)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Phaster (Fraser)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

## *Brigadiers*

Corbes (Corbet)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Mackintosh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Hay, Ecuyer de roy, à present Milord Hiuer- ness (Inverness)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

## *Colonels*

Clephant (Clephan)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Cameron	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Stuart de apin	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Cambelle	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Camerones	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Campbell de glenelion	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Jusus (Innes)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Linvington	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Truin de Danut (Irvine of Drum)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

## *Lieut.-Colonels (5)*

Ones	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ang.
Waleincha (Walkinshaw)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Elphinston	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Maxton	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
fforbes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

## *Majors d'infanterie et de cavalerie (9)*

Fleming	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Hepburn	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.



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Makincha (Mackenzie)	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Surith Arthur	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Lesly	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Lauder	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Macpherson	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Mackinstork (McIntosh)	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Coclburne (Cockburn)	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

## *Capitaines (24)*

Stalhet	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Preston	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Saintclair	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Frezier	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Falconer	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Duglas	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Collier	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ang.
Sharp	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Nairne	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Lesly	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Maguel (McEwen)	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Butler	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Gordon	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Creisthon (Creichton)	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Dalmahore (Dalmahoy)	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Markinsie	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Charelton	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Littleton	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Accud	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ang.
Macdonald	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Buuke (Burke)	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ang.
Lestrangle	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Obrien	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Asher	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.

# JACOBITE REFUGEES AT AVIGNON

## Lieutenants (6)

Ker	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Ferguson	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Bosual	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Lindsay	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Maclaen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Lindsay	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

## Docteurs

Lesly	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Hamilton	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Lesly	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Barclay	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Wood	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Pathieson (Patterson)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

## Secrétaires

Kennedy	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Paterson	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

## Sous-secrétaires

Egigar (Edgar)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Keir	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

## Médecins du Roy

Blair	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Vignar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

## Chirurgiens (2)

Arnaud	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.
Hay	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

*Gentilshommes*

Elistreet . . . . .	Irl.
Askein . . . . .	Ecos.
Kesch . . . . .	Ecos.
Ogilvie . . . . .	Ecos.
Alexandre . . . . .	Ecos.
Fuzier (Fraser) . . . . .	Ecos.
Follingham de puree (Fotheringham of Powrie) . . . . .	Ecos.
Follingham fils ditto . . . . .	Ecos.
Briseban de briseban . . . . .	Ecos.
Fuberne . . . . .	Ecos.
Wood . . . . .	Ecos.
Sailor . . . . .	Ecos.
Ker . . . . .	Ecos.
Fulastoun (Foularton) . . . . .	Ecos.
Muray . . . . .	Ecos.
Menzien (Menzies) . . . . .	Ecos.
Hairsthen . . . . .	Ecos.
Stilvoort (Stewart) . . . . .	Ecos.
Hobson . . . . .	Irl.
Forman . . . . .	Irl.
Arkin . . . . .	Irl.
Scharp . . . . .	Irl.
Grin . . . . .	Ang.
Envingston . . . . .	Ang.
Cameron . . . . .	Ecos.
Hazel . . . . .	Ang.
Smith . . . . .	Ang.
Beanton . . . . .	Ang.
Meiklewright . . . . .	Ang.
Pots . . . . .	Ang.

# JACOBITE REFUGEES AT AVIGNON

## Listes des seigneurs anglais catholiques (35)

Le duc de Perth (James, 2nd Duke)	Ecos.
Milord Galmoy	Irl.
Mr. Niesdal, sauvé par sa femme de la prison de Londres (Lord Nithsdale <sup>1</sup> )	Ecos.
Mr. Wington, sauvé de Londres (Lord Wintoun)	Ecos.
Clemont	Ecos.
Seaphort (Seaforth)	Ecos.
Scheldon (Sheldon)	Angl.
Macdonald de clanranald	Ecos.
Fleming	Ecos.
Macdonald	Ecos.
Buude	Angl.
Le chev, Ekins	Angl.
Tramagnon	Angl.
Meriland	Ecos.
Strickland	Angl.
Butler	Irl.
Macmahon	Irl.
Wogan	Irl.
Macdonald	Irl.
Rigby	Irl.
Woods	Angl.
Albergomby, Médecin	Ecos.
Machua	Irl.
Tranagnen	Angl.
Aker	Irl.
Siedeworth	Angl.
Nairne	Ecos.
de Laswe (Leslie)	Ecos.
Browner	Angl.
Mascalt	Angl.

<sup>1</sup> He actually did not arrive at that time, but later.



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Saint Paul	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Angl.
Boubler	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Angl.
Rhodes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Angl.
Sivlis	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Angl.
Fitzgerald	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Cuog (Keogh)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Mathieu	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Linch, apothicaire	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Irl.
Mr. Drummond	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Ecos.

Altogether 500 with their servants, etc.

(It is interesting to note among these names that of Wogan, who was to become famous by bringing James's bride to him in 1719; Sheldon, Hay, and James Murray, who were closely concerned in the education of Prince Charles; three out of the seven men of Moidart who landed with Charles in Scotland twenty-nine years later, viz. Tullibardine, Sir John Macdonald, and Strickland; and of Lord George Murray, the famous General of the '45.)

Also James Edgar, who was to be for so many years the faithful Secretary in Rome.

Mary Stuart landed here as a child - Prince

Charles on his return from Scotland in 1790

MAPS • INDEX





- Forster's route*:—Rothbury to Kelso, via Hexham and Warkworth .....  
*Kenmore's " "*:—Moffat to join Forster at Rothbury through Jedburgh .....  
*Mackintosh's route* { North Berwick to Preston — — — — —  
 { The other 2 joined him at Kelso and all passed through  
 { Jedburgh to Preston ..... }

### CALLUM O'GLEN.

I read the words of the song "Callum O'Glen" as set forth by "Black Watch" a few weeks ago. It is a translation of a Gaelic song by James Hogg, who claims it to be so beautiful that he might venture to make it against any piece of modern poetry.

SYBILLA CAMPBELL.

Was ever old warrior of suffering so weary?  
 Was ever the wild beast so bayed in his den?  
 The Southron bloodhounds lie in kennel so near me,  
 That death would be welcome to Callum O'Glen.  
 My sons are all slain, and my daughters have left me,  
 No child to protect me where once I had ten;  
 My chief they have slain, and of stay have bereft me,  
 And woe to the grey hairs of Callum O'Glen.

(4,250)

The homes of my kinsmen are blazing to heaven,  
 The bright sun of morning has blushed at the view;  
 The moon has stood still on the verge of the even,  
 To weep from her pale cheek the tint of the dew.  
 For the dew it lies red on the vales of Lochaber;  
 It sprinkles the cot, and it flows in the pen;  
 The pride of my country is fallen for ever,  
 O Death, hast thou no shaft for Callum O'Glen.

The sun in his glory has looked on our sorrow,  
 The stars have wept blood over harlot and tea;  
 O, is there no dayspring for Scotland? No morrow  
 Of bright renovation for souls of the free?  
 Yes! One above all has beheld our devotion,  
 Our valour and faith are not hid from His ken,  
 The day is abiding, of stern retribution  
 On all the proud foemen of Callum O'Glen!



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# "PRINCE CHARLIE'S LAMENT."

I have much pleasure in forwarding the words of "Prince Charlie's Lament," asked for by "Moidart." It is entitled "Charles Edward at Versailles: on the Anniversary of the Battle of Culloden." The author is Professor Aytoun.

J. R. [unclear], Blackford.

Take away that Star and Garter—hide them from my,  
aching sight;  
Neither king nor prince shall tempt me from my lonely  
room this night.

Let the shadows gather round me while I sit in silence

Broken-hearted, as my father watching by his father's

Let me be in communion far from every earthly

Day of passion—when as the year comes round.

Fatal day! when in the latest die was cast for me and

Could I but quell the fortunes of the hapless

There before me, in its wildness, stretches bare Cul-

loden's heath.

There the broken clans are scattered, gaunt as wolves

and famine-eyed,

Hunger gnawing at their vitals, hope abandoned, all

but pride.

There they stand, the battered columns, underneath

the murky sky,

In the hush of desperation, not to conquer, but to

die.

Hark, the bagpipe's fitful wailing; not the pibroch

loud and shrill,

That, with hope of bloody banquet, lured the ravens

from the hill;

But a dirge both low and solemn, fit for ears of dying

men

Marshall'd for their latest battle, never more to fight

again.

Madness—madness! Why this shrinking? Were we

less inured to war

When our reapers swept the harvest from the field of

red Dunbar?

Bring my horse and blow the trumpet! Call the

riders of Fitz-James!

Let Lord Lewis head the column! valiant chiefs of

mighty names.

Trusty Lochiel! stout Glenmarry! gallant Gordon!

was Lochiel!

Bid the clansmen hold together, fast and fell, and

firm as steel.

Elcho! never look so gloomy—what avails a saddened

brow?

Heart, man! heart!—we need it sorely, never half so

much as now.

Had we but a thousand troopers, had we but a

thousand more—

Noble Perth, I hear them coming—hark, the English

cannons roar.

Ah, how awful sounds that volley, bellowing through

the mist and rain—

Was not that the Highland slogan? let me hear that

shout again.

Oh for prophet eyes, to witness how the desperate

battle goes

Camerland! I would not fear thee, could my

Camerone see their foes.

Sound, I hear, the charge at vent'ure—'tis not naked

steel we fear:

Better perish in the mêlée than be shot like driven

deer!

Hold! the mist begins to scatter; there in front 'tis

rent asunder,

And the heavy battalion crumpled underneath the

deafening thunder.

Chief and vassal, lord and yeoman, there they lie in

heaps together,

Smitten by the deadly volley, rolled in blood upon the

heather.

And the Hanoverian horsemen, fiercely riding to and  
 fro,  
 Deal their murderous strokes at random—Woe is *me*,  
 where am I now?  
 Will that baleful vision never vanish from my aching  
 sight?  
 Must those scenes and sounds of terror haunt me still  
 by day and night?  
 Yes, the earth hath no oblivion for the noblest chance  
 it gave—  
 None—save in its latest refuge—seek it only in the  
 grave.  
 Love may die and hatred slumber, and their memory  
 will decay,  
 As the watered garden recks not of the drought of  
 yesterday;  
 But the dream of power once broken, what shall give  
 repose again?  
 What shall chain the serpent furies coiled around the  
 maddening brain?  
 What kind draught can nature offer strong enough to  
 lull their sting?  
 Better to be born a peasant than to live an exiled  
 king.  
 Oh! my heart is sick and heavy—southern gales are  
 not for me;  
 Though the glens are white in Scotland, place me  
 there and set me free.  
 Give me back my trusty comrades, give me back my  
 Highland maid;  
 Nowhere beats the heart so kindly as beneath the  
 tartan plaid.  
 Flora! when thou wert beside me in the wilds of far  
 Kintail,  
 When the cavern gave us shelter from the blinding  
 sleet and hail;  
 When we lurked within the thicket, and, beneath the  
 waning moon,  
 Saw the sentry's bayonet glimmer, heard him chant  
 his listless tune;  
 When the howling storm o'ertook us, drifting down  
 the island's lee,  
 And our crazy bark was whirling like a nut-shell on  
 the sea;  
 When the nights were dark and dreary, and amidst  
 the fern we lay,  
 Faint and foodless, sore with travel, waiting for the  
 streaks of day;  
 When thou wert an angel to me, watching my ex-  
 hausted sleep,  
 Never did'st thou hear me murmur—could'st thou hear  
 how now I weep  
 Bitter tears and sobs of anguish, unavailing though  
 they be—  
 Oh! the brave—the brave and noble—that have died  
 in vain for me!

"Moidart," a name that conjures up a thousand  
 recollections of Jacobite times, may procure the words  
 of this grand poem relating to the last act in the  
 unfortunate drama of the '45, in "Bell's Standard  
 Elocutionist." The author of this and several  
 others of a like Jacobite nature was Professor  
 Aytoun, of Edinburgh University, described as  
 the "last of the literary Jacobites." Aytoun in all  
 his writings was a stout Cavalier, who loved to linger  
 over the doughty deeds of the Scottish Cavalier who



## Noteworthy Sayings

THE bridge between joy and sorrow is not long.—*German Proverb.*

MANNERS are not idle, but the fruit of loyal nature and of noble mind.

MEN will believe their passions quicker than they will their consciences.

MEN'S passions are generally wrong, and their consciences always right.

THAT is a sad house where the hen crows louder than the cock.—*Italian Proverb.*

A SMILE may weave a subtle charm, but tears are things which do most harm.

THE way to make yourself pleasing to others is to show that you care for them.

SOMETIMES there is a good deal of pride in telling how big a sinner you used to be.

THE mother-in-law does not remember she was once a daughter-in-law.—*Spanish Proverb.*

MARRY your son when you please, and your daughter when you can.—*French Proverb.*

TALKING about "so many hypocrites in the church" is only a roundabout way of bragging on yourself.

WHAT in many people is thought to be firmness is simply obstinacy—in which a mule can outdo them ten to one. One half of the husbands will go directly opposite to the advice of a wife to show their own way and show a proper spirit of independence, as they think, and fondly congratulate themselves on their manly firmness when it is simply mulish obstinacy.

I HARDLY ever look at a bent old man or a wizened old woman but I see also with my mind's eye that past of which they are the shrunken remnant; and the unfinished romance of rosy cheeks and bright eyes seems sometimes of feeble interest and significance compared with the drama of hope and love, which has long ago reached its catastrophe, and left the poor soul like a dim and dusty stage, with all its sweet garden scenes and fair perspectives overturned and thrust out of sight.—*George Eliot.*

## PRONUNCIATION OF SCOTTISH NAMES.

If any one reads Scotch of the time, say, of Burns, it will be found that "y" was written like "zeir," yet no one thought of pronouncing it "zeer." In the same the "z" in M'Kenzie, Menzies, and Dalziel is "z" at all, but "y;" and this "y" is not pronounced. Therefore, instead of M'Kenzie it ought to be pronounced M'Kenzie, M'Keenie, M'Keenie. A shorter form of the name is M'Kea. Old Edinburgh boys will remember what used to be cried at the door of the mausoleum (in Greyfriars Churchyard) of Advocate MacKenzie, who prosecuted the Covenanters:—

"Bluidy MacKeenie, come out if ye dar,  
Lift the sneek, and draw the bar!"

Menzies is generally pronounced Meeng-iss. A few pronounce it Menyies; it should not be pronounced Men-zies. It is the same with Dalziel, which is pronounced Dal-yell, Day-ell, and Da-el (Dael being modern form of this.) Culzean Castle, in the West of Scotland, is called Culleen Castle; M'Fadzean is pronounced M'Fadyen, Cockenzie is Cockennie, & Melville is pronounced as it stands. In the phone days of three hundred years ago it was spelled twenty-four different ways (including Latinised forms). Highlanders pronounce it Malville. Malin is a Fifeshire contraction, in the same manner as Malin.

I noticed a query as to whether the original pronunciation of Menzies and like names was as if a were used instead of "z."

I had occasion to go over the Privy Council Records of Scotland lately, and I would refer the writer to the introduction to the first volume, p. 52, where he finds, upon the authority of Mr Hill Burton, that the original spelling was "Menyies," and that it was pronounced. The volume can be seen in the Advocate's Library.

## "ROY'S WIFE" IN LATIN.

In reply to "A. C. G.," I have pleasure in sending Dr Lindsay Alexander's version of "Roy's Wife's" Aldivalloch.

Rubri uxor Aldivallis,  
Rubri uxor Aldivallis,  
Scisne qua decepit me  
Colles cum transirem Ballis?  
Vovit ac juravit illa  
Meam semper se futuram  
Sed, vae mihi! virgo levis  
Istum prae me legit furem.  
Optime saltavit virgo,  
Laetiorum nunquam malles;  
O utinam fuisset mea!  
Aut ego Ruber Aldivallis!  
Oculos intentes habet,  
Osque pulchrum ut Dianae;  
Semper mihi cura erit,  
Quamvis perfida Joanni.

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heard  
...St. Al...  
smack of student  
that I have ever  
it is:—  
schoolboy, aged ten  
my little Greek I kne  
short-striped trousers, s  
on my jacket too!  
other boys to the playg  
my old "Gradus" by,  
off the task I had scarce  
time enough for that," sa  
as at college, my pride wa  
om, and my bit of blood;  
studies, I must  
was content w

...eep in my trade  
agh not in my o  
when rascally tail  
There's time enoug  
s just nineteen wh  
nd I scribbled a gr  
ked to myself in a  
and I thought I wa  
as torn from my lo  
And the lady she  
I didn't die of gri  
There's time enoug

next *penchant* was  
Was her fortune—sh  
spoke with an air  
but a man cannot li  
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ill out at the case  
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